

Pat Getz-Gentle

PERSONAL STYLES
IN EARLY CYCLADIC
SCULPTURE



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SCULPTURE

with a chapter by
Jack de Vries

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For my family and other Cycladophiles

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Preface

The decision to write this book roughly ten years after the appearance of *Sculptors of the Cyclades* was based partly on the belief that the published record of my work should be brought up to date. In that time I have studied a significant number of important works, many of them hidden away for years in private collections. There are also relevant pieces that I had overlooked or that I knew about but was unable to illustrate earlier. Some of these are, I believe, from the hands of sculptors already identified and make important additions to their previously known work; others are of interest because they contribute to a fuller understanding of Cycladic sculpture generally. I felt that it was also necessary to respond in some fashion to recent criticism of my work, especially to the serious charges that my approach is insufficiently rigorous and that some of the pieces I had earlier attributed to particular sculptors could be forgeries.¹

The core of this study involves a fresh and detailed examination of the work of artists identified in *Sculptors*, with a view to assessing how they fare today. For each sculptor it has been necessary to ask if it is possible to add to the body of work previously ascribed to him and/or if there is any reason to subtract from it. And, most important, since the former is true for the majority of these carvers, one must ask if it is possible to gain a better insight into his artistic range and development. The answers to these questions determine the particular focus of the section devoted to each artist. I also explore the styles of a number of sculptors not previously or adequately discussed or illustrated. Throughout the book I address the question of how one recognizes the personal styles—signatures—of individuals, anonymous to us, who lived some forty-five hundred years ago.

In reviewing the typological development of Cycladic sculpture in the first two chapters, I discuss a variety of questions relating to body build, posture, gesture, and added details. I also pay particular attention to the least well documented images, the formative precursors of the reclining folded-arm figure that was to be sustained by marble sculptors for some four or five centuries.

This book is intended neither as an apology nor as a polemic, but rather as a reaffirmation of a partly intuitive and largely visual approach that does not lend itself to the sort of tabulation and statistical analysis that archaeologists take comfort in. Rigor in this case resides in the eyes. Based on common sense and a close scrutiny of a large amount of material, this approach developed naturally from observation, and not, as some have charged, from the imposition on the material of ideas or vocabulary borrowed from Morelli, Beazley, or

Berenson. Indeed, my background is in Greek literature: influences would have come less from art history than from the study of repeated forms in traditional oral poetry, and from the work of Milman Parry. (My first publication was a study of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.)² As for my particular choice of words, especially the use of “Master,” for which I have been taken to task, it followed quite innocently from my observations in the Cyclades (where the term is used to refer to and to address fully trained and independent crafts and tradesmen, without any implication that they produce masterpieces) and from an effort to make my work accessible to a nonspecialist audience. To avoid further misinterpretation, I use “Sculptor” instead of “Master” when referring to specific figure-makers throughout the present study, and, in deference to my critics, I no longer name “new” artists after living collectors. (Also, for the works illustrated in the plates and text figures, I try not to give current “custodial” information in the text and endnotes or to identify the sculptors’ name-pieces unless necessary. That information is supplied in the Notes on the Illustrations.) Finally, for the sake of variety, I use the words “sculptor,” “artist,” “craftsman,” “figuremaker,” and “carver” as equivalent to each other and interchangeable.

Some Aegean archaeologists seem uncomfortable with Cycladic sculpture. This may in part be due to its aesthetic appeal—to the fact that the general public is intrigued by it and refuses to view the figurative images merely as archaeological artifacts. Archaeologists who work virtually exclusively with material found in the course of systematic survey or excavation can afford to be dismissive of Cycladic sculpture, especially if they themselves have not been directly involved in the recovery and publication of examples. They have neither need nor use for material that has for the most part not been found by archaeologists. In my work it has been necessary and important to consider all the objects, regardless of how they came to light.

Scholars of prehistory, further, are used to considering large time spans and broad trends rather than individuals and the relatively few years of their working lives (careers). Some seem reluctant to accept the idea that the hands of individuals can be isolated or that people in a preliterate society, who probably practiced their craft specialty part-time and who were bound by strict iconographic codes, could have had distinct artistic personalities. They seem to deny that such craftsmen were capable of growing with experience or that they could have had ideas and aesthetic sensibilities of their own. These archaeologists prefer the tenuous concept of localized styles or anonymous workshops, regarding the carvers collectively and, in effect, interchangeably. Seeing little of value for their own work in

attribution studies, some regard them as useless, particularly when unprovenanced objects are involved, which is inevitable when working with Cycladic sculpture. While the study of the work of Early Bronze Age individuals may or may not have a wider archaeological application, I operate on the premise that it can be highly interesting in and of itself and valuable for the light it may shed on how personal styles develop and thrive and tastes change in an unusually conservative tradition. Cycladic sculpture is especially well suited to this sort of study because it is much easier to see and assess stylistic development in the work of a sculptor who always makes the same iconographic image than one who carves figures in a variety of postures and guises.

It is partly their reliance on quantifiable data that makes it difficult for some to accept as genuine Cycladic objects that do not come from authorized investigations. There are no accepted tests to demonstrate authenticity; only occasionally can a scientific analysis expose a fraud. Consequently, there is a tendency to distrust much material of major importance, although few scholars have been forthright enough to specify which works they doubt, and those who have done so have failed to give persuasive explanations for their doubts. I believe that close visual inspection is normally adequate to determine if a piece is genuine, provided the inspector has a very close familiarity with the full range of material, including that found by archaeologists, that found by others either by chance or clandestinely, as well as that which is clearly counterfeit.

Apart from having a quite different mind-set, what differentiates me from my archaeologist colleagues is that Cycladic art has never been or at most has only temporarily been their primary interest, whereas for some three and a half decades my scholarly life has been quite single-mindedly—narrowly, if you will—devoted to it, with equal attention necessarily paid to orphaned objects as to those from authorized excavation. Distinguishing between the genuine and the fake has been very much part of my task always, since my study of the subject began around the time the antiquities market experienced a deluge of forgeries. (In my files I have photographs of more than two hundred purportedly Cycladic works that I regard as obviously or probably false. I have examined most of them. A high proportion of the figures I have seen in the last few years I consider spurious.) Over the years I have made mistakes. Some of these, which affect the last sculptor discussed in [Chapter 4](#), are corrected here. I have also had the satisfaction of reinstating some works mistakenly condemned by others. I continue to learn.

I do not expect my critics to like this book any more than my earlier publications. By its very existence, illustrating as it does objects

that do not come from controlled investigations—some of them quite surprising, although in my opinion unequivocally genuine—it is likely to provoke further criticism: I anticipate being charged with accepting works that cannot be proven genuine, some of them in unidentified private collections that make them unavailable for scrutiny by others. I expect to be accused again of stimulating an increased interest in and esteem for Cycladic art that could affect market values and impel illicit diggers to intensify their searches and forgers to fill the gap between supply and demand. In point of fact, I very much doubt that I have such powers. Private and public collecting, illicit digging, and the insinuation of forgeries into the market were all flourishing before I began to publish. Increasing awareness and fostering interest and understanding are legitimate goals of scholarship, and *all* archaeological exposure carries with it the potential for doing some harm. The solution to the problem of looting lies in education and excavation, not in the suppression of material, and not in the condemnation of collecting, which has the effect of driving collectors into anonymity and making them reluctant to share their objects with scholars and the general public. Recent criticism, while spurring some museums and collectors to refuse objects found in the last decades, will not put a damper on collecting *per se*. Rather, the fresher finds are now likely to find their way into far more reclusive repositories, where they will be as good as lost.

One aspect of my earlier work that has generated both criticism and disbelief is the idea that, before they were carved from the rough-trimmed marble slab or block, most Cycladic figures were planned according to simple proportional “canons,” and that this initial planning is reflected in the finished figures. My own work in this area was based on measurements taken from photographs rather than from the figures themselves. The same is true of those scholars who have tried to disprove my claim that the figures were consciously planned; it is true also of those who have proposed alternative design formulae. In fact, only one person has undertaken the enormous task of accurately measuring a large number of widely dispersed, complete figures in order to determine what pattern(s), if any, can be found in their proportions. Jack de Vries has concentrated almost entirely on Spedos variety images, the most numerous of all, and he has studied a number of the works illustrated here. In [Chapter 5](#) he sets forth the results of his research.

As with all my work, I consider the illustrations, with their particular juxtaposition of images, to be of paramount importance, and I believe that close study of them will enable the reader to recognize the hands of individual sculptors and appreciate the subtle variations within their styles. In writing this book, I have scrutinized

the works illustrated in it and others more carefully than I ever have before. I have learned much in the process; I hope the reader will also.

Although this book was written for anyone willing to study the plates closely, those unfamiliar with Cycladic sculpture—and certainly anyone unfamiliar with Cycladic culture—would do well to read one or two other books to obtain the necessary background. While ideally the reader would have a copy of *Sculptors* on hand when reading the present study, which in some respects is a sequel to it, *Personal Styles in Early Cycladic Sculpture* has been written and illustrated to stand on its own.

Acknowledgments

I am extremely grateful to the many people who contributed to this book, whether directly or behind the scenes, recently or decades ago. The collectors who wished to be identified by name, the photographers whose names are known to me, and the artists who took part in the project are acknowledged at the end of the book. Here I would like to thank a number of individuals and the institutions with which they are or were affiliated at the time I required their assistance in the past few years: Lila Marangou (Archaeological Service, Amorgos); Aliko-Ismene Triantis (Acropolis Museum, Athens); Dolly Goulandris, Nana Ioakimopoulou, and Maria Tolis (Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation—Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens); Nikoletta Saraga (Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens); Katie Demakopoulou and Eleni Tsvilika (National Archaeological Museum, Athens); Max Anderson, Laura Brannen, Anthony Hirschel, Therese O’Gorman, Catherine Howett Smith, and Bonna Wescoat (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta); Ellen Reeder and Sarah Wentworth (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore); Margot Schmidt (Antikenmuseum, Basel); Huberta Heres and Gertrud Platz (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin); Adriana Calinescu (Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington); Árpád Nagy (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest); Michael Gramly and Elizabeth Robins (Museum of Science, Buffalo); David Mitten (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge); Gudrun Elsner and Heiner Protzmann (Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Skulpturensammlung, Dresden); Anne Adams and Isabelle Tokumaru (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth); Jacques Chamay and Chantal Courtois (Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva); Laurence Mattet (Musée Barbier-Mueller, Geneva); Thomas Berg and Eckart Köhne (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg); Geraldine Aramanda (The Menil Collection, Houston); Bella Gershovich and Silvia Rozenberg (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem); Beate Bollmann (Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe); Ruurd Halbertsma (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden); Lesley Fitton (British Museum, London); Camilla Bridgeman (Christie’s, London); Philippa Hamilton and Felicity Nicholson (Sotheby’s, London); Eva Rystedt (Klassiska Institutionen Antikmuseet, Lund); Jacklyn Burns, Kenneth Hamma, Elana Towne-Marcus, and Marion True (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu); Vasili Koutalieris (Archaeological Museum, Naxos); Ulla Kasten (Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven); Max Bernheimer (Christie’s, New York); Joan Mertens (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Sarah Weiner (Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery,

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I would like to thank all the museums, curators, collectors, conservators, and others who participated in the marble sourcing projects important to arguments made in [Chapter 4](#). This involved the sampling and examination of objects in their care. Unfortunately, I do not know the names of all of the conservators who took part. Most of the sampling was done by Elizabeth Hendrix at the Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and by Scott Pike at the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens; the analysis of all the samples was carried out at the Stable Isotope Laboratory of the Department of Geology, University of Georgia, under the direction of Norman Herz. I am particularly indebted to these three colleagues for their investment of time and for sharing their knowledge and observations with me. Norman Herz's collaboration and guidance were particularly valuable and essential to the study. I would also like to thank the following: Dolly Goulandris and Maria Tolis (Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens); Catherine Howett Smith and Therese O'Gorman (Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta); Klaus Sommer (Cavigliano, Switzerland); Jane Biers (Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia); Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen (Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen); Jerry Podany (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu); Shin Doi (Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jaharis, Leonard Stern, and Robert Warshaw (New York); Derek Gilman, Steven Hooper, and Don Sale (Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, Norwich); Brigitte Bourgeois and Alain Pasquier (Musée du Louvre, Paris); and Margaret Ellen Mayo and Katharine Untch (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond).

A number of friends and colleagues have provided me with information specific to certain points in the book. Where appropriate, this help is gratefully acknowledged in the endnotes. My gratitude is due also to Katherine Cole, Tom Cole, Janice Crowley, and Sarah Morris. Special thanks go to Elizabeth Hendrix and Joan Mertens for

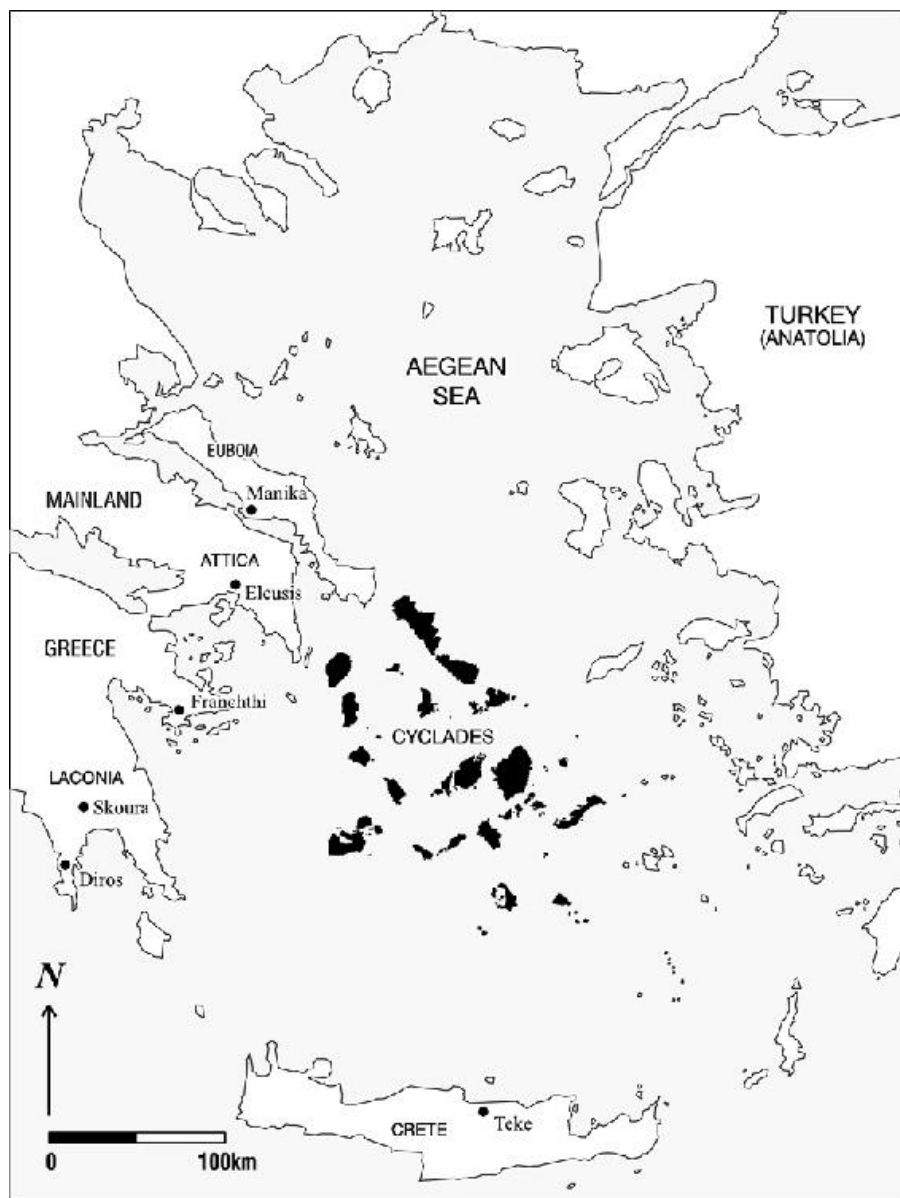
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A Note on the Illustrations: In Chapters 3 and 4, works attributed to individual sculptors that are *not* illustrated in this volume are referred to in the text by their (bracketed) checklist numbers. Works that *are* illustrated here are referred to in the text by their plate or figure numbers only, although their checklist numbers are included on the plates. Basic information for all the works cited is given in the Notes on the Illustrations and/or in the Checklists. Updated checklists of the works of *all* the artists included in *Sculptors*, as well as checklists of the works of artists discussed in [Chapter 4](#) but not in *Sculptors*, begin on page 151. Bracketed numbers in the charts and tables also refer to the checklists. For publication information for those works illustrated here only in the drawings and not included in the checklists, the reader is advised to refer to the list of illustration sources on page 183.

The work of many photographers is represented in this book, meaning that the figures were shot using various methods of positioning, lighting, etc. The results are far from consistent. Cycladic sculptures are very difficult to photograph well, and not least because they do not stand by themselves. The angle at which a piece is shot is of the utmost importance. Photographs taken from only slightly different perspectives will make the same work look very different indeed. Both details and proportions will be affected. For example, what may be a straight line on one may be bowed on another; the head of one may be more elongated. Compare, for example, the head

in plates 71*d* and 75*b*. When two pieces attributable to the same sculptor are photographed in slightly different ways, they will appear to be more dissimilar than they actually are.



Map 1. The Cyclades and neighboring lands, with places mentioned in the text and notes.



SYROS: 1 Chalandriani	NAXOS: 1 Apollonas	KEROS: 1 Diskaleio/Kavos
PAROS: 1 Naoussa	2 Akrotiri	AMORGOS: 1 Kapsala
2 Piastiras	3 Aplomata	2 Kápros
3 Marathi	4 Melanes	3 Kornoviglia
4 Glypha	5 Phrygones	4 Dokathismata
	6 Louros Athalassou	
	7 Phiorias	
	8 Spedos	
	9 Apeiranthos	
	THERA: 1 Akrotiri	

Map 2. The Cyclades, with sites and places mentioned in the text and notes.

PERSONAL STYLES
IN EARLY CYCLADIC
SCULPTURE



CHAPTER ONE

Before the Arms Were Folded

Cycladic Sculpture from the Late Neolithic through the Transitional Early Cycladic I/II Phase

Cycladic sculpture is remarkable for a number of reasons, not least of them its longevity, and especially the longevity of the female figure with folded arms. Once the iconography of the type had crystallized—the posture, which I believe is a reclining one, and the parallel positioning of the forearms—this durable image was made in considerable quantity for some five hundred years, from about 2700 to perhaps as late as 2200 B.C. (fig. 1). The changes and differences within the basic type observable over the centuries are stylistic ones, due both to common trends, as reflected in a series of varieties, and, within each variety, to the particular interpretation of individual craftsmen. In order to appreciate the subtle variations of and also within the personal styles of individuals, it is necessary to have an ample grounding in the general sculptural trends. The main purpose of this chapter and the next is to review the development of Early Cycladic (EC) sculpture, from the sculptor's perspective insofar as that is possible, by looking closely at a number of individual works, many of them little known, beginning, briefly, with the Neolithic roots.³

LATE NEOLITHIC IMAGES (PLS. 1–3)

Long before the reclining figure with folded arms found its form, carvers of small-scale works were addressing the problems for which, ultimately, it provided a most felicitous solution. The reclining folded-arm figure was at once practical to make, to carry, and to display, even when produced in a scale that in rare cases approaches life size. The so-called primitive sculptor can be said to reinvent the human form by concentrating on and even exaggerating those aspects of the body he deems important as he acts, however unconsciously, in the role of cultural interpreter. The resulting interplay of formal elements can be a powerful and sophisticated alternative to faithful or naturalistic representation. At the same time the sculptor must always allow for the difficulties and limitations of his material and his tools. Marble, while not a very hard stone, is brittle; it chips and fractures

easily, and skill, experience, and patience are required to work it successfully. It is my belief that questions of fragility both during manufacture and afterward during use and display motivated sculptors to seek ways to decrease the risk factors, even though at times they might yield to the temptation to push the limits, challenging the marble in daring ways.

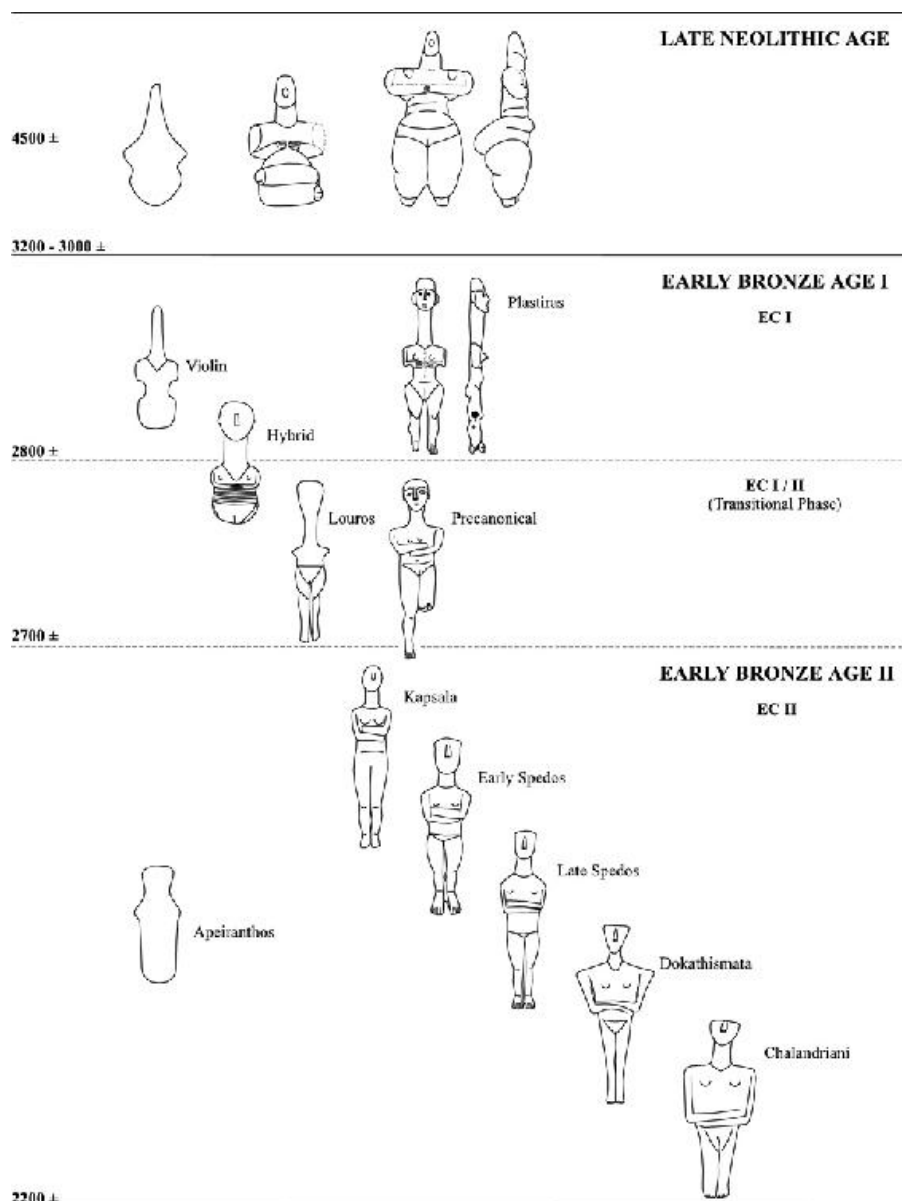


Fig. 1 Key points in the development of the Cycladic female figure

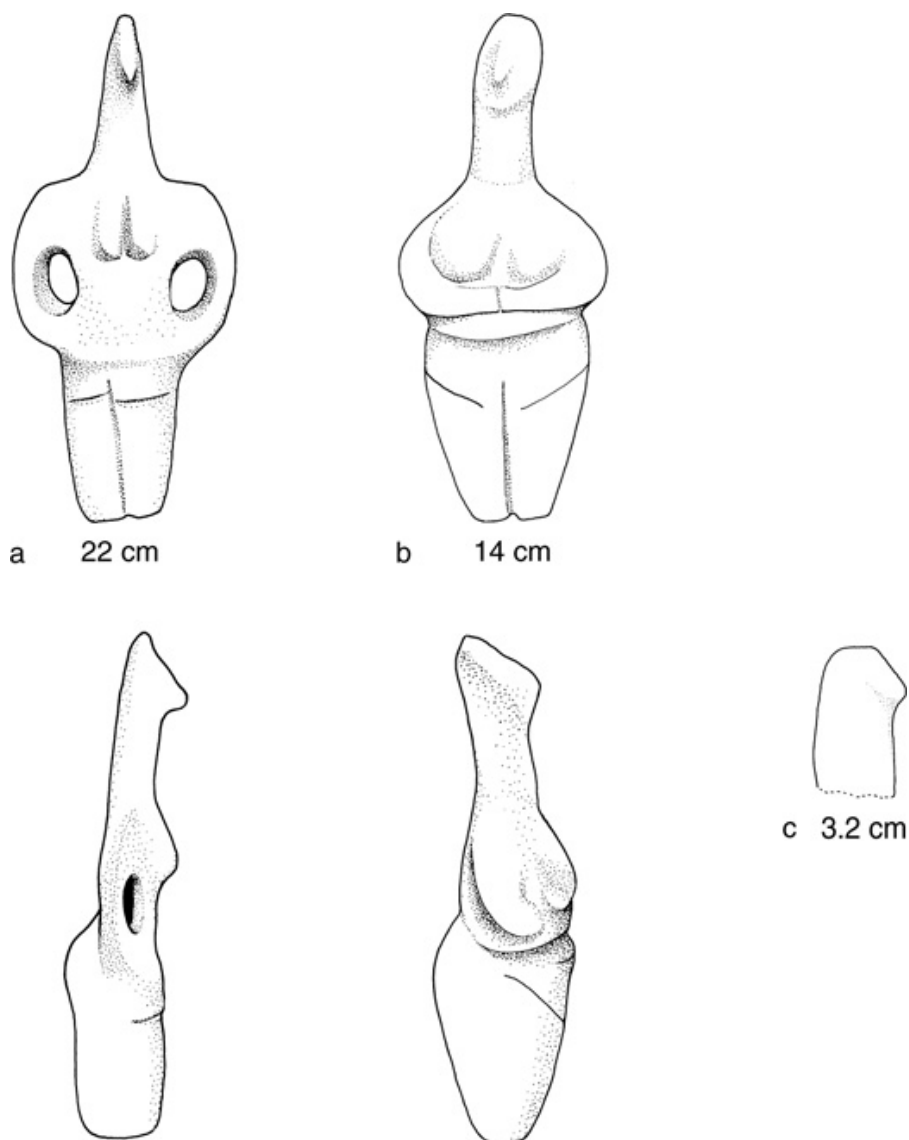


Fig. 2. Two Late Neolithic standing figures and a head found on Saliagos

In the Neolithic period in the Aegean, two postures were represented: the standing and the sitting (pl. 1; [fig. 1](#)). Sitting figures, with their convenient emphasis on the buttocks, could maintain their position unsupported; the standing images, also with greatly enlarged buttocks but usually with small feet, needed a prop to maintain their position, or they would have fallen over easily, often enough, one can imagine, sustaining fractures.

One piece of particular interest combines a keen sensitivity to design, unusual boldness in the rendering of the arms, and a stolid

practicality in the way it was made to stand on its own (pl. 2; [fig. 2a](#)). Said to come from the Cyclades, this figure is composed of three distinct geometric parts: a tall conical head/neck, a circular middle section, and blocklike legs. The long, narrow breasts, both in front and in profile, repeat the form and angularity of the nose/face. The lower part is bisected by a continuous groove that runs down the front, under the flat base, and up to the rounded buttocks. In front, this groove echoes the cleft between the breasts. Thus, all three elements of the design are effectively tied together by vertical details oriented along a central axis. Corpulence through the hips and thighs, seen here chiefly in profile, was an essential element in Aegean Neolithic sculpture; with the elimination of the feet, which were not considered essential, the sculptor, however inelegantly compared with the rest of the work, was able to make the figure self-supporting.

The boldly designed figure has a presence that belies its modest size. The strong geometry of the schematized forms, such details as the great beaklike nose/face and the free spaces between body and arms, and not least the ability of the figure to stand unaided, all contribute to its arresting quality. It is also highly unusual. Indeed, the figure appears to belong to a type not previously recognized among the rare Aegean marble images of the Neolithic period.

In some respects the work can be compared to a well-known piece of similar size and to another, related image in Eleusis that was found at the end of the nineteenth century in a grave on Amorgos.⁴ A closer parallel for the head/neck is, I believe, the fragment recovered from the excavation dump of the fifth millennium B.C. settlement on the islet of Saliagos ([fig. 2c](#)).⁵ The Saliagos head is in turn quite similar to the corresponding portion of a small figure of unknown provenance that at present is the closest parallel for the figure in [plate 2](#), although the smaller work is clearly less refined (pl. 3). The points of resemblance to be noted include the basic shape of the head/neck, the rounded outline of the arms, the blocklike shape of the lower section, and the low placement of the grooves marking the pubic area ([fig. 2b](#)). Not coincidentally, this figure also lacks feet and was designed to stand.

The presence of arm cutouts on the larger work but not the smaller one should not in any way invalidate the closeness of the parallel.⁶ The latter was in any case too small for its sculptor to have seriously contemplated the risk involved in perforation. Nearly two thousand years later, there was at least one artist—the Berlin Sculptor—whose largest known work has arm cutouts (pl. 88d), while the smaller figures attributable to his hand do not (pl. 88a–c). I suspect there were other cases of this practice among the works of sculptors now known only by a single figure with arm cutouts (e.g., [fig. 12b](#)).

How to arrange the arms must have been a constant concern of prehistoric stone sculptors. Only the rare male figures of EC I/II and early EC II have one or both arms carved in the round (pl. 21; [fig. 15a–d](#)). Such works were doubtless fiendishly difficult to fashion; certainly they were prone to fracture once finished. Normally the arms, if shown, were carved on or adjacent to the body. The possibilities for placing the forearms on the body were limited, especially since a symmetrical arrangement was very much preferred.

Cycladic sculptors at various points in their history favored rather broad—sometimes extremely broad—shoulders that imbued their works with presence and power. From Neolithic times through the EC I period, the arm position of choice was one in which the forearms are opposed, often with the hands meeting. This arrangement resulted in an upper torso that was exaggeratedly wide and in elbows that stood out from the body (pl. 1), making the waist beneath appear attractively narrow by comparison.⁷ On the figure in [plate 2](#), the forearms are oriented in the usual way but somewhat lower so as to create the illusion of the abdomen, especially in profile. Here it is the dramatic cutouts that endow the figure with a shapely waist.⁸

THE PLASTIRAS TYPE (PLS. 4–7A)

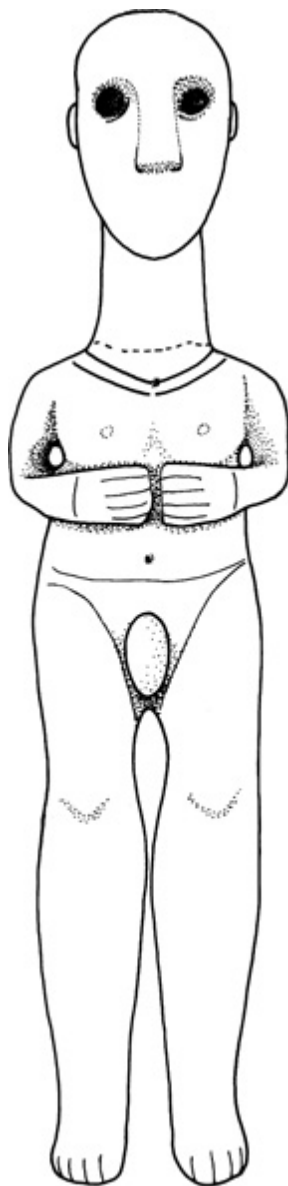
There can be no doubt that the Plastiras type is rooted in the Late Neolithic standing image,⁹ although it is difficult to explain the apparent gap of a millennium or more between them. One might assume that figures of wood filled the gap, or that there were sites with stone figures that continued in use through the Final Neolithic period. Conceivably, one or two Late Neolithic images were uncovered by chance early in the Early Bronze Age, restarting a long-dormant sculptural tradition. I rather like the idea of a continuum in wood, even though there is no hard evidence for one. The idea is attractive for two reasons: Plastiras figures show considerable development from the steatopygous representations of the fifth millennium B.C.—a development that is likely to have been gradual—and, because of their straight, stiff posture, these figures look as if they could have been made of wood, suggesting that this medium had an influence on their form when translated into stone.¹⁰ It remains possible that works representing different stages of the development will one day turn up in excavation. After all, very little systematic exploration of Neolithic sites has taken place in the Cyclades to date.¹¹ Finally, it is conceivable that some Plastiras and related figures are somewhat earlier than is generally thought. The fact remains that relatively few have actually been found by archaeologists in their original contexts,

and those few, including the name-pieces of the type, are nearly all the work of one sculptor.¹² Nevertheless, even if the dating could be pushed back somewhat, we would still be left with a chronological gap to explain.

While continuing the stance and arm arrangement of its Neolithic antecedents, the Plastiras figure differs from them in important ways. The old images are three-dimensional, with a profile view just as impressive in its fleshy massiveness as the front view (pl. 1; [fig. 1](#)). By contrast, the Plastiras figure is much more two-dimensional, with the entire profile contained within narrow limits. All exaggeration of the buttocks and legs, all celebration of adiposity, has been replaced by a keen interest in the shapely build of the average woman. This could, of course, reflect a shift in the purpose and function of the female figure, but I suspect that in any case it represents the practical approach of sculptors who found it simpler to concentrate on a frontally oriented image, perhaps, as mentioned, with some influence from woodcarving.

As part of this new focus perhaps, the Plastiras sculptor elongated his figure, giving it an exaggeratedly long head/neck that usually takes up a full third of the total height. The head/neck of the old Neolithic figures had been conceived as a single form—often dwarfed by the massive body below—on the front of which the nose and chin were characteristically the only facial features added. The head/neck of the Plastiras image is clearly rooted in this approach: the backline remains continuous, without or with only a slight differentiation of the two parts, but the face has taken on a quite separate identity. From the front the head is wider than and therefore made distinct from the neck by the presence of carved ears. Eyes usually—sometimes inlaid with dark stones (e.g., [fig. 3](#))—and often a short, straight mouth add interest and character to the representation.

The top of the head tends also to be broad, in contrast to the often tapered “prong” of the Neolithic archetype. When it is rather straight across the top, a cylindrical headdress (*polos*), also rooted in the Neolithic, is to be understood. This is sometimes further defined by a continuous or an interrupted horizontal groove that marks its lower boundary (pl. 5a). On the unusually detailed and carefully executed figure illustrated in [plate 6](#), the incised eyebrows seem to double as the demarcation of the headdress.



30.8 cm

Fig. 3. A male figure of Plastiras type

The legs were treated differently by sculptors of Plastiras figures—again as part of the emphasis on the frontal aspect. By carving them separately all the way to the crotch (instead of merely separating the feet and lower legs, as most Neolithic sculptors did), they were able to endow their works with a vitality not seen before. It could be said, too, that the free space between the legs gives the front view an illusion of three-dimensionality absent when they are rendered as a

single, solid unit. The risk involved for the sculptor was considerable. What is more, Plastiras figures are not able to stand on their own. Even when the sculptor was able to carve the legs separately without incident, they were certainly accident-prone once they left his hands. The same was true of their fragile necks. More examples of the Plastiras and related long-necked types (pls. 7b–9) than any other show evidence of having been broken and subsequently mended.¹³

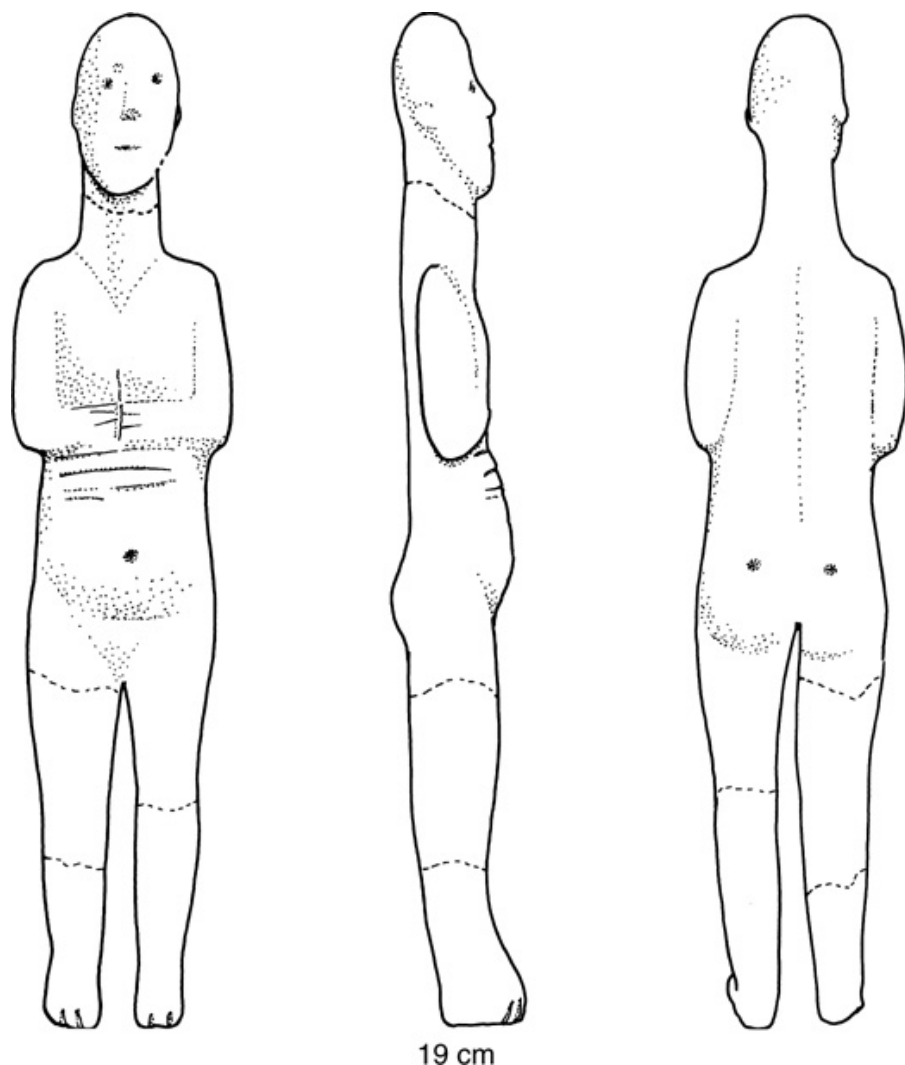


Fig. 4. A figure of Plastiras type

As noted, the arm position of the Plastiras image is the old Neolithic one, but the elongation of the figure and the reduced emphasis on the lower body were accompanied by a reduction through the shoulders, with the result that the upper and lower torso width now tend to be

closer to each other.¹⁴ By contrast, some Neolithic figures are actually much broader through the shoulders than across their outsized hips. Still, to allow for forearms of adequate length, the elbows of Plastiras figures normally stand out well away from the body, and often enough the upper body is dramatically broad, providing correspondingly broad shoulders. This prompted at least one sculptor to risk boring the inner contour of the bend at the elbows (fig. 3), while another, at even greater risk, made large cutouts between the arms and body.¹⁵ A noteworthy exception to Plastiras extravagance is the work illustrated in figure 4. With its narrow shoulders and elbows that protrude only slightly, the image fails to project the aura of vigor and self-assurance of so many Plastiras figures.

At their best Plastiras images are a curious combination of distorted proportioning and attention to some of the finer points of anatomy, such as the contour of ankle or calf, or the arch of the foot. Some sculptors added such unusual details as the sternum, shoulder blades, or iliac dimples. Breasts take on a round as opposed to an elongated shape, fingers and toes become common, the navel occurs with some frequency, and, for the first time, a series of horizontal grooves on the belly makes its appearance and is found relatively often on Plastiras (pl. 6; fig. 4) and related figures—especially on the violin-shaped images also made by Plastiras sculptors (pl. 7*b, d, f*)—and sporadically later on (pl. 47).¹⁶

This aesthetically effective pattern, which may be a reflection of the flesh rolls on Neolithic sculptures (see pl. 1), has been interpreted as representing postpartum creases or bindings and is, I believe, to be viewed as an alternative way of indicating pregnancy and childbirth. On occasion, the grooves even occur in combination with a swollen belly. In addition to the explicit pattern of grooves, I suspect that the forearms of some Plastiras figures, with their conspicuous finger incisions, are to be read, psychologically or symbolically, not simply as arms and hands, but also as abdominal creases, folds, or bindings. At least one image has more than the requisite five fingers on each hand (fig. 5*a*). This one and others have fingers so long that they occupy most of the front of the figure (fig. 5*b*),¹⁷ and at least two have no vertical groove dividing the two hands, meaning that the lines, like the unequivocal body grooves, are continuous (fig. 5*b*).¹⁸ It cannot be denied in these cases that the fingers are highly decorative and effectively focus the viewer's attention, much as the special pattern of grooves does. Not coincidentally perhaps, the violin figure illustrated in plate 7*b* has two sets of horizontal grooves on the front—one where the arms are to be understood, the other on the lower torso, where one would expect such grooves. Here the sculptor has capitalized on the decorative possibilities of the parallel lines,

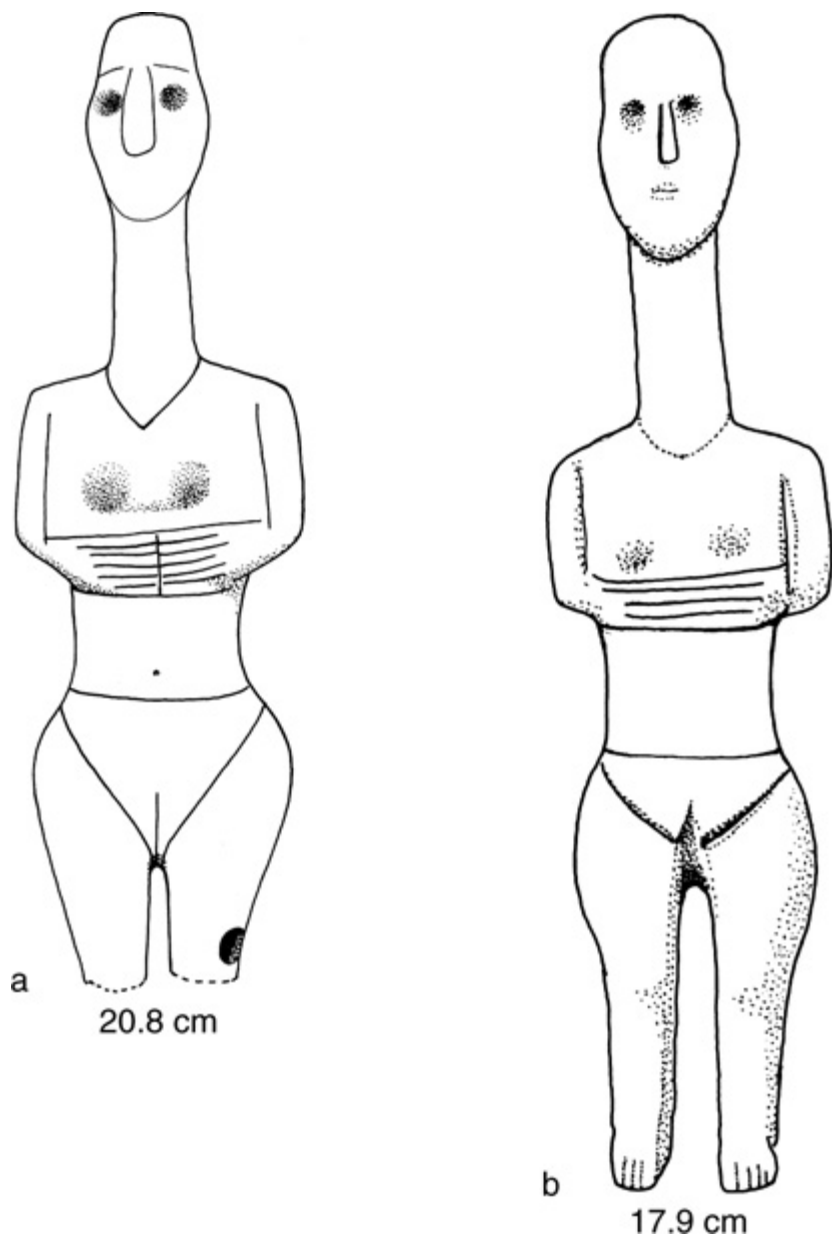


Fig. 5. Figures of Plastiras type

Looking at the little-known Plastiras figures illustrated in the plates, one cannot help but notice the great variety from piece to piece, even though each one is also quite true to type. The proportions of the figure shown in [plate 4](#) are unusual in that the head/neck takes up more than 40 percent of the height instead of the usual one-third.

Amazingly, that part of the work has remained intact. One might imagine that the original intention of the sculptor in this case was to make his figure some 7 or 8 cm taller, with the torso extending to where the knees are at present. The figure would then have been divided into thirds—one for the head/neck, one for the body, and one for the legs. If this was the original plan, an accident to the lower legs during the carving process would have forced the sculptor to telescope the torso and legs in order to salvage his piece in an acceptable manner. This might also explain the unusual smallness of the feet.²⁰ Until further well-preserved examples of this sculptor's work are recovered, this idea must remain speculative. Arguing against it perhaps is a male figure with an unusually long head/neck and with quite similar legs and small feet that does not give the impression of having had its original design revised due to damage (fig. 6).

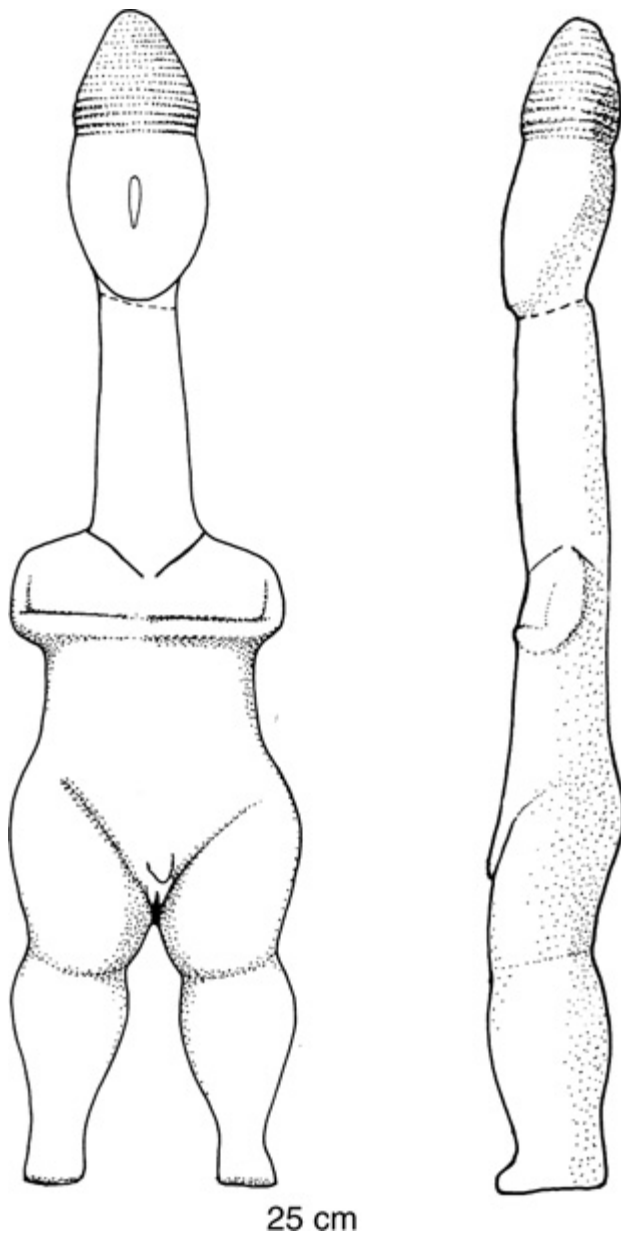


Fig. 6. A male figure of Plastiras type

Moving now to the diminutive figure in [plate 5a](#), one finds a more evenly proportioned and, on the front, more detailed work than the one just discussed. Considerable emphasis is placed on the belly, which bulges to denote pregnancy, accented below by a curving groove and above by elongated fingers (which were first incised as a single set of parallel lines, as, for example, on the violin figure in pl. 7b, and then divided by a vertical line into individualized hands). The

profile is full of character, its most striking feature being the large, arched feet complete with small protuberances for the ankles. Since the feet are exaggerated only in profile, the intention may have been to stress its erect posture even though the figure is unable to stand on its own.

An even smaller figure, its surface in poor condition, is clearly the work of the same sculptor (pl. 5*b*). The proportions are nearly identical, as are most of the forms. Note particularly the disproportionately large feet. So, too, certain details, such as the eyes and polos, are indicated in the same way on the two works. The arms and fingers, however, appear not to be present on the smaller one. They may have simply weathered away; more likely, because of its size—it measures a mere 2.5 cm across the widest point—they may not have been shown at all, giving the piece a somewhat schematic appearance. The only other differences to be noted are the absence of any swelling of the belly on the smaller figure and the somewhat different treatment of the pubic area on the two images. Both works appear to be free of any details on the rear, but it must be noted that the back of the larger one is heavily encrusted, while that of the smaller is very worn.

The sculptor of these two miniature works most probably also carved violin figures, one of which might plausibly be the unusually large piece illustrated in [plate 7*b*](#). A comparison of the outline contours through the shoulders, upper arms, waist, and hips of the very well preserved Plastiras image with those of the violin reveals a strong resemblance. Most violin figures do not have such an angular indentation forming the waist. Rather, this is more often curved (pl. 7*c*, *e*) or tall and straight-sided (pl. 7*d*, *f*, *g*). One may note, too, that the head/neck prong of the violin figure is straight across the top rather than rounded or pointed. Seen on many violin images, this may be a schematic reflection of the straight-topped polos clearly indicated on the figure in [plate 5*a*](#) and on a number of other female Plastiras figures.

One of the most arresting and beautifully worked Plastiras figures to come to light is a relatively large piece carved, atypically, in light gray marble (pls. 6, 7*a*). Rigid—or, perhaps more aptly, *wooden*—in profile, with little modeling along its straight axis, the figure is all front and back, with the greater emphasis, as always, on the front. While faithful to the basic structure and iconography of the Plastiras type, its sculptor seems to have been less concerned with anatomical veracity than some sculptors and more interested in the power of geometry and pattern, as manifested in the wealth of detail added to the flat surface. The cascade of horizontal elements down the sturdy image contributes to the vitality of the work, as does the rhythmic

repetition of triangular configurations: the short, horizontal strokes of the eyes and mouth; the small, round shapes of the navel and breasts, spaced close together, on the same axis as the eyes; and the incised pubic triangle contained in the larger triangle composed of the extended inguinal (groin) lines and bounded by the lowest of the five abdominal grooves.

A highly effective and unusual aspect of the geometric patterning on the figure is the flat chest, sunken to allow the shoulders and arms to form a raised border around the rectangular upper torso, much like the stone palettes of the EC I period that this sculptor may also have made.²¹ On the rear, the shoulders and upper arms are highlighted in analogous fashion, by means of incision. The same device is to be seen on the front of the originally much smaller and less refined partly preserved figure in [plate 5c](#). It is also found on a figure of hybrid type related to the Plastiras. On that example the shoulder/arm lines are grooved on the front, rendered in very low relief on the rear ([fig. 7](#)).

The works that have the shoulders and arms treated as a continuous band set off in relief or by incision were probably made in close proximity to one another over a relatively short period of time. In the absence of head and feet, it is difficult to place the work in [plate 5c](#). However, the rendering of the elbows close to the body and the narrowness of the hips, taken together with the fact that the legs are not carved separately to the crotch, point to a date late in EC I or in the beginning of EC I/II. The hybrid image in figure 7, which combines elements of the EC I Plastiras and violin types with the featureless face characteristic of the EC I/II Louros type (pl. 10), is likely to be of similar date.²² That in turn would argue for a late EC I date for the Plastiras figure in [plate 6](#), and also the violin figure in [plate 7e](#), which has the upper body and arms treated in similar fashion.

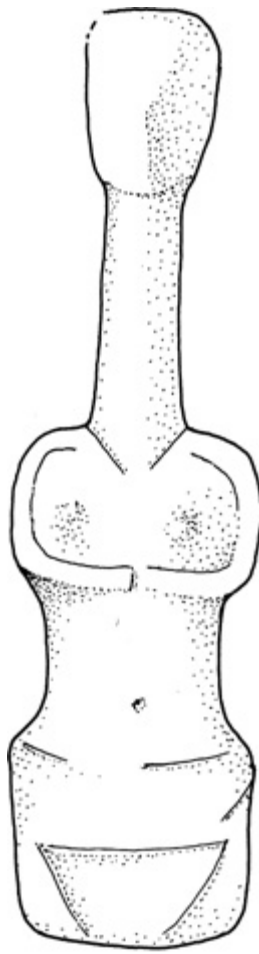
VIOLIN, HYBRID, AND LOUROS IMAGES (PLS.7B–10)

Following the Plastiras and violin figures, or coeval with the later ones, are a number of variations on these types that are simpler than the former and more complex than the latter. To my knowledge, no hybrid images have been found in the course of systematic excavation. Typologically, they seem experimental, in the sense that they incorporate elements of both the schematic and the naturalistic approaches to the human form, which usually tended to be discrete but chronologically parallel ([fig. 1](#)). On some, the facial features are emphasized; some have legs. Many, if not most, of these works, like the basic violin and a great many prehistoric clay and stone images

from the Aegean, the Near East, and elsewhere, do not have the arms articulated. These are, perhaps, to be imagined, mentally furnished in the space indicated by the outline contours.

One highly unusual representation that belongs in the hybrid category does have arms, in low relief, and, as on some Neolithic works,²³ they are angled slightly upward (pl. 8a). This may be significant—as a vague reflection of a gesture in which the hands were directed toward the breasts—or it may simply be a convenient way for the sculptor to make the forearms as long as he wished without having the elbows project too far from the body.

The small figure sits erect—and can do so unaided—with its knees drawn up so that the calves are folded, frontally, against the thighs. As on many violin and related figures, its sex is implied by the narrow waist and broad hips rather than by any explicit depiction of the pubic area. The work represents an elaboration of the characteristic two-dimensional violin figure, which began as a schematic or shorthand rendering of the full-blown Neolithic sitting figure with horizontally folded legs (pl. 1b; [fig. 1](#)) and blossomed, numerically, in the EC I period as a much more easily carved schematic sitting version of the Plastiras figure. While the rendering of the legs and the added depth of the lower body of the little sculpture are unparalleled—compare, for example, the profile of the work in [plate 8b](#)—the curiously tall and top-heavy head/neck is very much like that of an otherwise very different and rather poorly conceived hybrid standing figure of unknown provenance.²⁴ From the front and back, the outline of the body is similar to that of certain angular violin (e.g., pl. 7f, g) and related hybrid images (e.g., [fig. 7](#)). In effect, the carefully carved work is a step removed from the violin figure's full abstraction and can help us better understand that common type's elemental form: the figure has a head that is differentiated from the neck, rather than a simple head/neck prong; it has arms rather than a blank surface to be completed in the viewer's imagination; and there is no ambiguity as to the posture intended—it is not a legless but clearly a *sitting* image. Of course, for the sculptor, not having to carve the legs was one of the reasons violin figures were so much easier, safer, and quicker to make.



17.4 cm

Fig. 7. A figure of hybrid type

The unusually large hybrid figure illustrated in [plate 9](#) stands somewhere between the EC I Plastiras and the EC I/II Louros types. The presence of facial features and the fact that it has legs that are carved separately to the crotch connect the work to the earlier type.²⁵ The absence of arms on the body is, however, the most striking characteristic of the much simpler, flatter Louros type, with its featureless face—sometimes with a vaguely suggested nose—and legs that can be quite carefully shaped but normally are separated to a point no higher than the knees and often only to the midcalves or even lower, thus reducing the risk of fracture (pl. 10). To compensate for the absence of arms on the body, Louros-type images feature an unnaturalistic attenuation of the shoulders. A hint of shoulder projection can perhaps be seen on the hybrid figure, but here the shoulders are considerably narrower than the hips, and in general the

outline of the torso rather resembles a violin figure with rounded contours (e.g., pl. 7c). The shoulders of Louros figures, with their stylized projections, sometimes indecorously called arm stumps, are wider than the hips, in some cases considerably so, which imbues them with a presence that belies the figures' usually modest dimensions. The example illustrated in [plate 10c](#) is slightly larger than average and is unusual in having breasts indicated in relief. Breasts may have been omitted as a rule if the shoulder extensions were meant to double as breasts.[26](#)

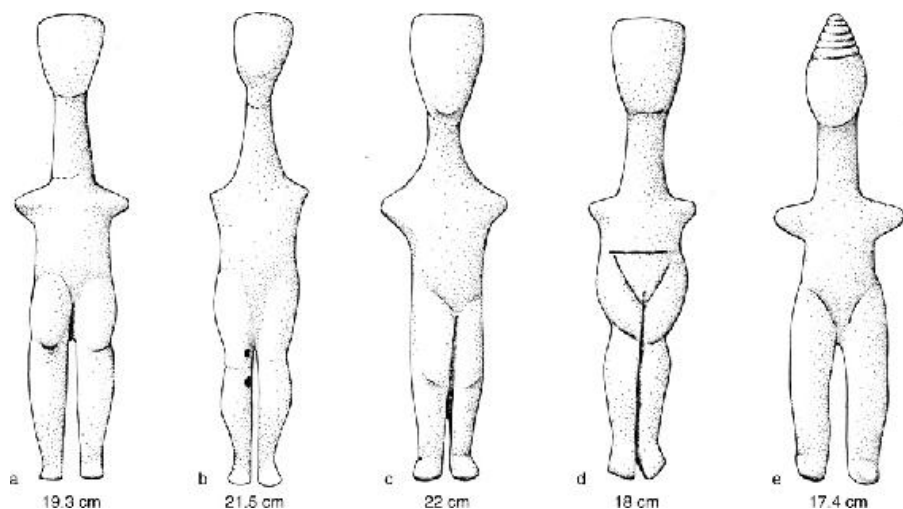


Fig. 8. Five of the seven figures found together in Grave 26 at Louros on Naxos

Close parallels for the figure in [plate 10c](#), with a very similar treatment of the leg forms especially, and with a clearly marked pubic triangle, are a work that came from the same source (and probably the same cemetery, if not the same grave)[27](#) and a figure from Grave 26 at Louros Athalassou on Naxos, which resembles the work just mentioned somewhat more than the piece in [plate 10c](#) (fig. 8d). The three sculptures are nearly identical in size.

I have suggested that at least five of the seven figures found standing in a niche in Grave 26 were the work of one carver—the Stephanos Sculptor—who may have intended them to form a group with distinct differences.[28](#) If this is true, then the figure in [plate 10c](#) ought to be from his hand as well. Moreover, the smaller but expertly carved figures in plates 10a and b are most likely further examples of his work; there are probably a number of others as well.[29](#) Conceivably, the Stephanos Sculptor was responsible for a majority of the known Louros figures.

Unlike the hybrid figures, which are an odd assortment of different

works that are inconsistent in their emphasis, the Louros image was repeated for a time with little significant variation. It seems to have endured for no more than a generation or two, produced probably by a limited number of figure-makers working in relatively close proximity to each other. Eventually the type was supplanted by a far simpler image known as the Apeiranthos type (fig. 1).³⁰ Typologically, the Louros figure represents a digestion of and a development from the complex Plastiras and the abstract violin forms of EC I.³¹ It is a homogeneously schematized version of the human figure, yet in some examples of the type we nevertheless begin to see the head, for all its elemental simplicity, being treated as a form that is distinct from the neck, especially in profile.

PRECANONICAL FIGURES (PLS. 11–22)

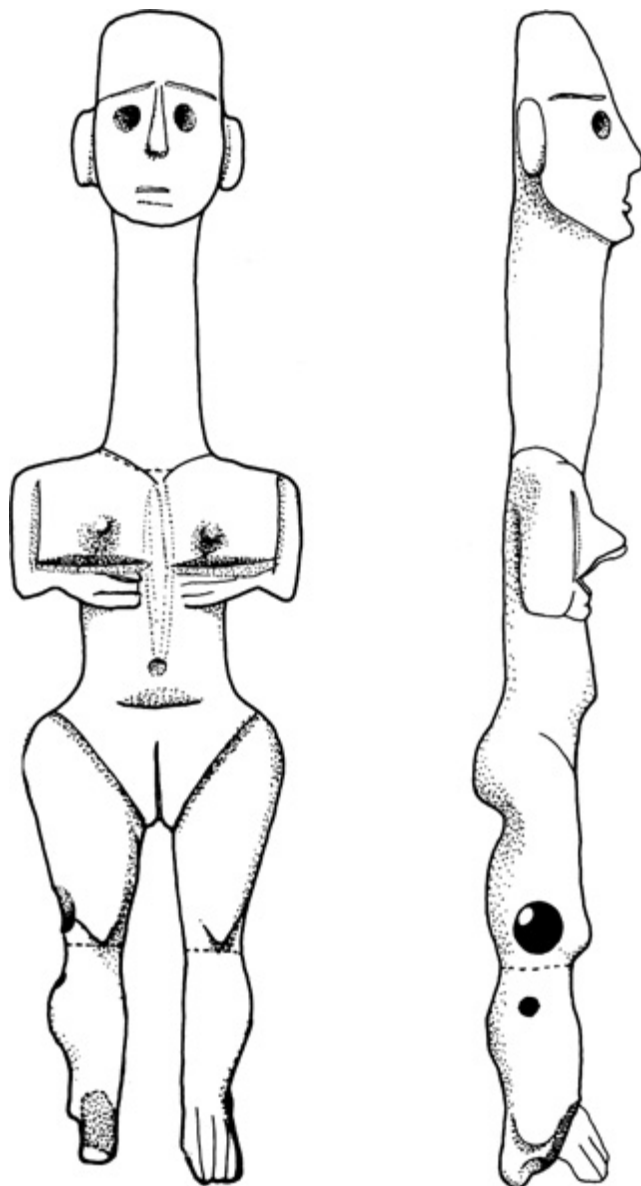
The Louros type (probably along with some of the hybrid images) was, I believe, the schematic alternative to a quite diverse group of figures known as precanonical. The chronology of this group is uncertain because, to date, only a very few examples have been recovered by archaeologists. Although these were evidently found in early EC II contexts, it not clear that they were made then.³² I believe it makes sense to suppose that precanonical works go back slightly further, to the transition from EC I to EC II (EC I/II). Whatever the precise chronology, the sculptors of precanonical images were transitional in spirit—often still keenly attentive to the subtleties of naturalistic form and detail, but at the same time receptive to new ideas, both iconographic and practical.

Now that the Plastiras type is well established through excavation and publication, the precanonical figures remain the single least well understood group in all of Early Cycladic sculpture. In my opinion, however, these works are most important because it is through them that the folded-arm figure evolved from the archaic Plastiras image. This is not a residual category but a vibrant and innovative catalyst leading to the Cycladic sculptors' finest achievements. At present, approximately the same number of these precursor figures and of Plastiras images are known to me. They are scattered far and wide and for the most part are either not published at all or not accessibly published; they have rarely been illustrated in more than a front view. A representative sample is offered here.

Although the known examples belong to several strains of the precanonical approach and show obvious differences, I believe their experimental spirit unites them into a distinctive group. First and foremost, precanonical sculptors experimented with different arm

arrangements, including the folded, as well as some unusual ones that were not pursued. One remarkable figure with a highly unusual placement of the arms is illustrated in [plate 11](#). Its sculptor seems to have tried to avoid the exaggerated upper body breadth, all but inevitable with the old Plastiras arrangement (e.g., [fig. 9](#)), by orienting the arms downward instead of bending them sharply at the elbows. The result, which inadvertently suggests a gesture of modesty, is not particularly successful, because the artist ran out of space and had to make the arms too short in relation to the rest of the otherwise well conceived and meticulously executed work.

The best parallel for the arms of this work is to be seen in a remarkable fragmentary figure found in Laconia ([fig. 10](#)). Dated (in its only publication so far) to the Final Neolithic (FN) on the basis of not very close parallels in clay, this work, at some 60 cm, would have been exceptionally large by Neolithic or even EC I standards.³³ Although all certainly precanonical figures found so far in the Cyclades are smaller than the figure from Laconia was originally,³⁴ it is my belief nevertheless that this intriguing piece is a Cycladic work belonging to the precanonical group.³⁵ Here, only the hands are carved on the torso; the arms were sculpted in the round, free of the body, with a bend at the elbows ensuring that there was sufficient space for the forearms. Separating the arms from the body was probably fraught with less danger on such a large work than on a piece of modest size such as that in [plate 11](#), which may be why perforation was not attempted on the latter.



21.8 cm

Fig. 9. A figure of Plastiras type

The figure in [plate 11](#) is of great interest also for being a combination of old and new elements. The head is an excellent example of this. Its shape, quite different from anything we have looked at so far—except that it is echoed schematically in the presumably contemporaneous Louros figures—is set at an angle, arching backward and terminating behind in a substantial flattened area. The head, in back, has broken free of the narrow limits allotted

to the profile of the Plastiras figures, and along the front the forehead and nose have a continuous convex profile, foreshadowing the heads of reclining folded-arm figures. The long neck and the facial features, however, are derived from the Plastiras image, with its carved ears, bored eye sockets, and short, straight mouth. The ears on this piece, rather than being treated as protuberances, were formed by thinning the head above and cutting away a bit of the head behind them, making them more prominent when seen from the rear than from the front. The mouth, with its subtly defined lip below the simple incision, is especially delicate and recalls the work of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor (fig. 9).

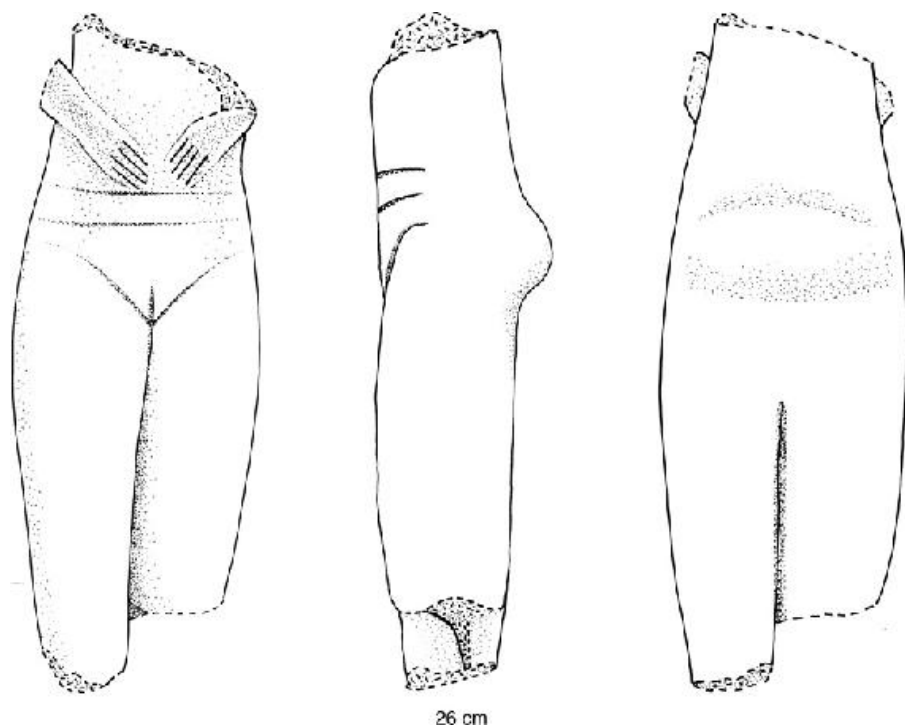


Fig. 10. A fragmentary precanonical(?) figure

Other incised details—the large pubic triangle, the extended sternum, and the shoulder blades—are also found on Plastiras figures. The large pubic area occurs commonly, the sternum in the work of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor and, less dramatically, on the piece in figure 4, and the scapulae on a work of the Athens Museum Sculptor.³⁶ Both the Metropolitan and the Athens Museum Sculptors (fig. 3) also bored the eyes of their figures.

Sculpted details such as the articulated knees and the shapely calves are also archaic in spirit. The curious flatness of the breasts, on the other hand, suggests a modification of the artist's original intention

following a minor accident to one or both that required that they be made to match each other by lowering the relief. If one were to place a straight edge against the front of the figure, the tip of the nose and the knees would touch it. As originally conceived, the breasts, too, would have made contact, as would probably also the ends of the missing feet. In profile, the breasts might have resembled the knees, or even the chin. In the work of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor, one can see a graphic example of this. The breasts of the piece in figure 9 are perilously pointed; if placed against a flat surface, the nose, breasts, and toes would all touch. The breasts of other works of this sculptor are also pointed, but on one they are oddly flat. The conclusion to be drawn is that on the latter the sculptor was compelled to alter their form when one or both points broke off during carving.³⁷

What is new about the figure in [plate 11](#), apart from its head shape and moderate body build, made possible by the experimental arm arrangement, is the complete separation of the legs only to a point far below the crotch, found also on the figure from Laconia (and the work in pl. 5c). We have already seen this new risk-reducing measure taken with the Louros figures. As with them, the posture remains a standing one. Even though the feet are not preserved, we know this to be true from the absence of any flexion of the knees. Its erect position, especially given the divided legs, may, quite literally, have been the figure's downfall, for at some point the lower legs broke off and were reattached. That the work was almost certainly repaired by the sculptor who fashioned it can be deduced from the fact that the holes bored in each of the leg stumps are nearly identical in diameter to the eye holes, indicating in all likelihood that the same implement was used for all of them.

We do not know when the legs broke off, but I would suggest that the damage to the breast(s) occurred at the same time as that to the legs: when the sculptor smoothed the leg stumps to create a more even surface for joining the lower legs and feet,³⁸ he also flattened and smoothed the breasts.

A technical advance that evidently made its first appearance in the EC I/II phase—the fully rotating drill capable of making cylindrical holes with a small diameter—allowed the sculptor to repair his works internally. This was in distinct contrast to all previous repairs, which consisted exclusively of external perforations on either side of a fracture, through which a piece of string or leather, or a strip of metal, could be drawn to fasten the two parts to each other. The configuration of the holes was conical or hourglass-shaped, depending on whether they were bored from one direction or two, and, depending on the thickness to be pierced, they could be much larger

than necessary, particularly on the side where a hole was begun.³⁹ A dramatic example of this can be seen on the leg of the sculpture in [figure 9](#), where the upper hole was bored from the outside—the awl would not have fitted between the figure’s legs—while the lower hole was bored from the inside, resulting in a much smaller opening on the (more visible) outside (see also [fig. 5a](#)).

With the new option of small cylindrical holes capable of receiving a tightly fitted wooden pin, concealed mending became possible, and yet not all transitional figures with repairs, and only one or two of several EC II figures, have internal repairs.⁴⁰ One of the figures from Grave 26 at Louros, for example, shows a leg mend that is external, but, in contrast to most EC I repairs, the holes are small and unobtrusive ([fig. 8b](#)).

The holes drilled in the calves of the precanonical figure in [plate 11](#) are very straight and regular, and, at 1.25 cm and 1.40 cm, quite deep. These cavities are evidence of both skill and confidence on the part of a sculptor who was well prepared to risk further damage to the piece in his efforts to make it whole again.

Another precanonical figure, which has legs carved separately up to the knees, was made to stand, precariously, on somewhat amorphous feet that were lengthened for the purpose (pl. 12a). This piece also broke, at the point where the leg separation begins, and the left lower leg was reattached using the same doweling method. Ironically, in this case the parts that broke off are preserved, even though the sculptor’s repair appears far less efficient than that on the figure just discussed. Here the cavities, each made to receive one end of the dowel, are cylindrical, but they are neither straight nor very regular, and at 7 or 8 mm they are considerably shallower. One might speculate that in this case a better, more lasting adhesive was used in combination with the wooden pin.

The stocky work shown in [plate 12a](#) is of interest, too, for having folded arms. Indeed, on casual inspection one might conclude that it is not so very different, apart from its posture, from the EC II reclining folded-arm figure. And yet the image, although more forward-looking than the piece in [plate 11](#), still has a rather long head/neck, and it still shows an interest in the anatomy of the legs, indicating a lingering archaism. The figure is also clearly experimental, which accounts for its awkward proportions. In an effort to make a neck that was sturdy and not likely to break easily, this sculptor, like a number of precanonical artists, skimmed on the shoulders. This in turn led him to make the width across the upper arms greater than that of the shoulders, and it probably also caused him to slant the forearms to make them sufficiently long. Giving his figure a slim waist meant that the elbows had to project well away from the body.

The sculptor who carved this work is of particular interest because he evidently tried more than one arm arrangement. A smaller figure is so similar to this piece (with the exception that it shows more grooved detail on the rear) as to leave little doubt that it is from the same hand (pl. 12c). Another figure is said to have been found with this one, which seems plausible in view of the similarity of the marble and the surface deposits on the two works (pl. 12d). I believe it represents an earlier effort by the same sculptor.⁴¹ Again, the figure stands, and its legs are carved separately to just above the knees. Again, the head and neck are prominent and bulky, the shoulders narrow. But here the figure is waistless, its elbows hug the body, and there is no vitality in its lines. The arms, rather than being folded, are shown (like those of the work in pl. 5c) in the old Plastiras position, but they are weak in their effect: the upper arms were made too short by the steep slope of the shoulders, itself a device to compensate for the breadth of the neck, and the forearms also appear too short, proportionally, against the broad, waistless torso. Having failed to solve the problem of arm placement on this work, he modified his approach when he went on to make the two figures with folded arms.

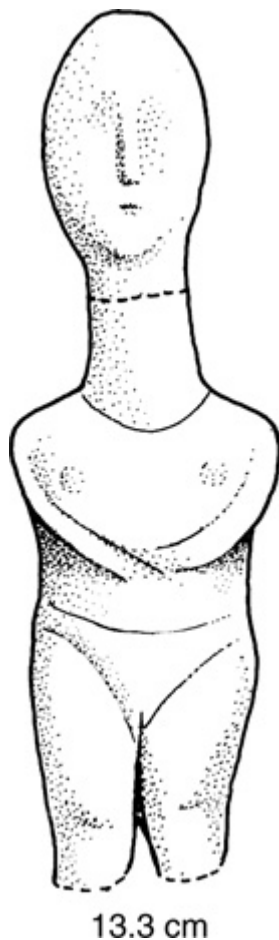
Two other precanonical figures show a similar treatment of the head, with an unclearly defined nose and a short slit mouth. These, too, represent experiments in the positioning of the arms. On the piece illustrated in figure 11, we see a rather schematic arrangement that seems to be a relaxation of the traditional Plastiras gesture. In the absence of a distinct bend at the elbows and the resulting orientation of the forearms, this piece resembles the work in [plate 11](#). Here the arms are proportionally much shorter than on that work because, by not separating them, the sculptor quickly ran out of space.

The stocky figure illustrated in [plate 12b](#) seems more akin to the work in [plate 12d](#) and could conceivably be a slightly later effort of the same craftsman who went on to make the images in [plate 12a](#) and [c](#). Here the sculptor has given his figure shoulders that are broad enough to allow the arms, rounded above and with well-extended elbows, to be rendered in the Plastiras position. Yet why he did not make their ends meet, which would have made the arms longer, is unclear. Possibly, he was in the process of contemplating a breakup of the strict bilateral symmetry beloved by many generations of artists. By creating a space between the hands, he may, in his mind, have been taking the first tentative step toward the folded arrangement, in which the forearms are not placed symmetrically, strictly speaking, but on different levels: before he could make them overlap (see [fig. 13](#)), they had first to be physically detached. Alternatively, the carver may simply have wanted to emphasize the hands by making them individual forms.

The same treatment of the forearms with a gap between the hands is found on the fragmentary work on [plate 14](#). There the elbows are very close to the body, with the result that the forearms are proportionally shorter. On this piece the gap might have something to do with the sculptor's design sense, for he has given the hand more or less the same shape as that of the breasts. This is accentuated by the fact that the space between the hands repeats the space between the breasts. Apart from the opposed position of the arms and the highly unusual pendant form of the breasts, which is actually more natural on a standing representation than the usual round shape, the figure, insofar as it is preserved, appears to have the sort of measured proportions and confident contours, as well as the broken profile, of somewhat later folded-arm figures. The work is, of course, also noteworthy for its naturalistically swollen belly.

Another precanonical variation on the Plastiras position is to be seen on the figure in [plate 13](#). Like the works in [plate 12a](#), [c](#), and [d](#), it has narrow shoulders and elbows held quite close to the body, leaving a limited space for the forearms. Although the condition of the surface makes the forearms difficult to read, the right one appears to be oriented slightly upward, to allow both to be slightly longer. Knowing he would not have enough space to incise fingers, the sculptor at least began to indicate them in red paint instead: two or three fingers are visible on the left hand. While paint is sometimes found in combination with finger grooves (e.g., pl. 57), this is the only example I know on which fingers were indicated solely by painting. We are perhaps to view it as an experiment that did not take hold. The broad-based neck with a strong upward taper seen on this work and a number of other precanonical figures (e.g., pl. 17) is also found on Louros-type images (pl. 10; [fig. 8b](#), [c](#)), and was probably designed to reduce the risk of fracture at its juncture with the body.

It seems most unlikely that only one sculptor came up with the idea of folding the arms or that a single craftsman was responsible for the widespread adoption of this arrangement and the start of a new tradition. I expect, rather, that a number of artists working over a period of a generation or two independently took steps toward the solution of the old problem of how to place the arms without exaggerating certain forms and proportions. Indeed, as we have already seen in the works illustrated in [plate 12](#), one can sometimes see a progression from the old position toward the new within the work of certain individuals.



13.3 cm

Fig. 11. A fragmentary precanonical figure

A cache of EC objects, including nine mostly fragmentary figures and three kandiles, was recovered in 1992 at Akrotiri on Thera. The objects had evidently been the contents of nearby graves disturbed during later building activities and redeposited in a specially constructed tomblike structure or cenotaph. Among the figurative images were four reasonably well preserved Plastiras figures. Two of the three males and the lone female have prominent cutouts between the torso and upper arms, while a fifth figure—a female—has similar cutouts. Its arms, however, instead of being opposed, are slanted, separated, and folded, like those of the work illustrated in figure 16a, which also has arm cutouts,⁴² or, perhaps more to the point, the figure in [plate 20](#), although in that case the arms are reversed. A sixth (possibly related) image, also female, has short, tapered arms arranged more tentatively and in reverse, rather like those of the piece in [plate 13](#) (and somewhat like those in pl. 15b). It seems clear that at least the four figures with arm cutouts are the work of one previously

unknown sculptor,⁴³ who at some point in his career became disenchanted with the Plastiras *status quo*. The folding of the arms would have been both innovative and precocious in an EC I context. Yet the figure with clearly folded arms is in all other respects indistinguishable from the sculptor's Plastiras images: its legs, for example, are fully separated up to the crotch. However, it is worth noting that the two females with arm cutouts—one Plastiras and one Plastiras/precannonical—and to a lesser extent the one complete male have heads that are quite precannonical in concept, as are also their lower legs and feet. This and his use of free spaces between the torso and arms, in an effort to create a more naturalistic effect, suggest to me that the sculptor played an active role in the transition from the Plastiras type to the precannonical.

At least three well-preserved, truly precannonical works are at present attributable to an artist one might call the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor (pl. 15).⁴⁴ They are remarkably alike in a number of ways, including a rounded head which bends back very sharply above the forehead to create a large, bunlike extension that ends in back in a flattish area. The shape is a more dramatic version of the basic form seen on the figure in [plate 11](#). Like the sculptor of that piece, the Kanellopoulos Sculptor gave his faces a full complement of features. The ears are sculpted, the mouth is a short, horizontal groove, the nose has a slightly concave profile, and, as on the work shown in figure 13, the incised eyes are almond-shaped with brows added, presaging the similarly shaped eyes regularly painted on EC II figures. The head/neck is less elongated than on other precannonical works discussed so far, and the buttocks, long legs, and feet are surprisingly naturalistic; their volumes lack any of the old exaggeration. The legs are carved separately to just above the knees. On the rear there is a low-slung [H5122] at the top (found also on the image in pl. 11), and the arms are set in a lower plane than the back. One detail that appears on c, but not on the other works of this figure-maker, is a long horizontal abdominal groove placed between the forearms and the top of the pubic triangle. Together, all these horizontal elements form a brief sequence of bands or creases. Curiously, the only other possibly precannonical work with this feature is the figure from Laconia: a similar horizontal groove crosses its abdomen above the top line of the pubic triangle, and it is toward this groove that the hands are directed ([fig. 10](#)).

Apart from the fact that the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor was inconsistent in the addition of certain details—breasts, navel, spine, fingers, toes—the three works in [plate 15](#) resemble each other in so many ways that the differences in the treatment of the upper torso and arms appear all the more conspicuous. On the diminutive (and

badly worn and pitted) figure, the arms are indicated in the old Plastiras position (pl. 15a). The shoulders are relatively broad, and the upper arms are angled toward the waist to keep the elbows near the body, with the result that the arms are rather short. On the next figure the sculptor straightened and broadened the shoulders and, in order to increase the length of the arms, staggered and slanted them in a tentative folded arrangement in which the left arm is below the right. In contrast to the meticulously articulated feet with their incised toes, the arms, although carefully carved in relatively high relief on the flat body, are strangely schematic in appearance.

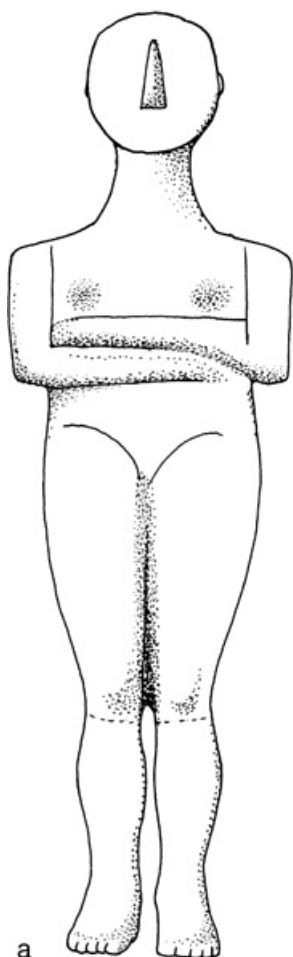
On the third and largest of the three works, the sculptor achieved the equilibrium one senses he was striving for: the shoulders are not excessively broad, and the elbows protrude only moderately because now the arms are fully folded. Here the sculptor, confident in the new arrangement, has made the arms detailed and complete with musculature, elbow joints, narrow wrists, and fingers. Only the chest remains unnaturalistically flat, with small, schematic, round breasts, raised, like the arms, in relief, recalling the upper torso of the Plastiras figures in plates 4 and 6.

Once sculptors began to adopt the folded arrangement of the arms, some of them at least also began to grapple with the question of symmetry—how to make an essentially asymmetrical pattern appear symmetrical to the eye. The solution lay in giving the forearms a consistent orientation—right-below-left—and making them even and straight and the elbows level, although from the beginning there was room for considerable variation. Moreover, it is clear that eventually some sculptors preferred a deliberately asymmetrical effect.

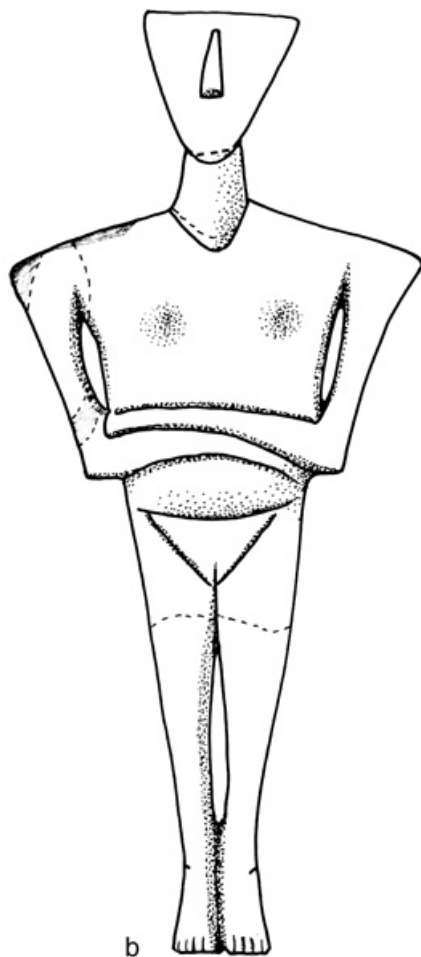
Looking at the figure in [plate 12c](#), for example, one sees that the elbows are quite level, but because the forearms differ in length and thickness, a symmetrical effect was not achieved. In the work of the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor shown in [plate 15b](#), the elbows are again quite level, but the effect is not symmetrical because one elbow is carved on the body while the other protrudes; moreover, the arms are not fully extended. The position of the breasts on this work indicates, I believe, that the sculptor was very much concerned with pattern and perhaps keen to show off the new arm arrangement. In a direct line with the eyes and forming a triangle with the navel (as on the figure in pl. 6), the close-placed breasts help to focus attention on the middle of the image and specifically on the small area where the arms overlap in parallel lines.⁴⁵ On the largest of the sculptor's works, the forearms fill the entire space. Here the breasts are farther apart, and in their more natural position they help to balance the composition.

The profile and lower part of the figures illustrated in plates 16 and

17 are so similar in their contours to the corresponding portions of the Kanellopoulos Sculptor's works as to be nearly indistinguishable from them. The rest of the body is, however, treated somewhat differently—that is, in a somewhat more forward-looking fashion. The basic head shape is the same, but free of facial detail, apart from small vestigial ears on one of the works (and, of course, the nose). The chest and breasts are naturalistically modeled, and the pubic region, rather than being a flat triangle with prominent vulva, is an understated, more subtly recessed area without any incision across the top. The preference for modeling over incision foreshadows the images of the Kapsala variety, the earliest of the reclining folded-arm figures of EC II. I would suggest that these works either belong to a more mature phase of the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor's development or were carved by a younger colleague who may have been a relative—a son perhaps, or a brother.⁴⁶



16.2 cm

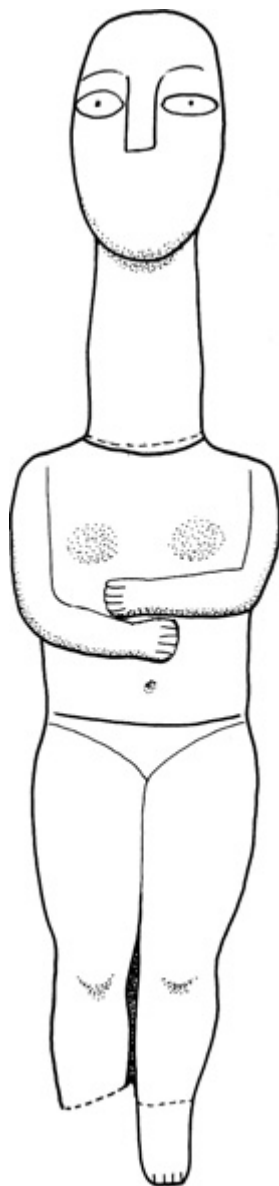


46 cm

Fig. 12. A precanonical figure and a Dokathismata variety figure with symmetrically positioned elbows

On the delicate figure in [plate 16](#), the neck is unusually long and old-fashioned, but the arms are folded, somewhat tentatively one senses, in the new way. The forearms do not extend all the way across the body, and the left elbow protrudes further and is higher than the right. On the figure in [plate 17](#) (also [fig. 12a](#)), which has a much shorter, broad-based neck and a curiously stocky profile, the arms seem to be more comfortably folded, and, for the first time perhaps, we see the effective use of a stylistic device that much later is found quite often: the forearms are tapered, and the left elbow has been “dropped” to the level of the right one (e.g., pl. 25; [fig. 12b](#)). Surely this was the result of a conscious effort to create an illusion of symmetry.

It is worth noting that, like the Plastiras figures before them, very few precanonical figures have survived with their legs intact. All the works in plates 15–17, for example, have at some point in time sustained fractures to both carefully modeled legs. On nearly all of them, the breaks occurred at or just below where they are separated. Whether the legs broke prior to interment in all cases is far from certain, but where there is evidence of ancient repairs, it is plain that those fractures at least occurred before burial (e.g., pls. 11, 12a, 15b);⁴⁷ besides these, most figures with missing legs probably also broke earlier rather than later.



28.2 cm

Fig. 13. A precanonical figure

Having compromised already by separating the legs only as far as the knees or slightly higher, instead of to the crotch, as the sculptors of the vulnerable Plastiras figures did, the craftsmen who fashioned precanonical images appear to have been loath to give up leg separation, even though they must certainly have recognized its hazards. In some cases they tried instead to make the legs of their figures sturdier by omitting the modeling (e.g., pl. 12*d*), and/or—

reluctantly, one might imagine—they carved the legs separately to a spot considerably less far up (e.g., pl. 12*b*; fig. 13).

At some point, presumably toward the end of the transitional phase, a few carvers began to see the practical advantage of separating the legs of their figures while keeping a part of the feet connected (pls. 18, 20). The realistic depiction of the arms and hands, with the thumbs clearly differentiated from the other fingers, is another indication that the sculptor of the modest figure in [plate 18](#) was something of an innovator. One need only compare the rendering of the hands and the profiles to see that this sculptor also fashioned the two-figure composition shown in [plate 19](#), which is the earliest known example of its rare type. With its shorter necks, schematized fingers—the thumbs are as long as the other digits—and the much greater size of the larger image, the two-figure piece was very likely a later example of the sculptor's work. The fact that he did not carve the legs separately can be explained as an exercise in caution combined with an interest in making the two figures match. As it would have been folly to try to perforate the legs of the small image, evidently he chose not to do so on the large one either.

Our last precanonical female figure is of considerable interest in its own right and also for its alleged associations (pl. 20). Like the sculptures illustrated in the previous plates, this work still shows a keen attention to the volumes and shapely curves of a strong, well-muscled woman, noticeable especially in profile, yet there is also an emphasis on modeling. As in the work of the figure-maker illustrated in plates 18 and 19, this artist took special pains to carve the arms, which are executed in unusually high rounded relief. The viewer is clearly meant to focus on them. And yet the hands are strangely clumsy, and the arms, although folded, appear slack and awkward. I suspect that when he fashioned this work, this very talented sculptor was not in the habit of carving images with folded arms. Quite possibly, like the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor, he went on to produce more confident renderings, perhaps with the arms in what was to become the conventional position, with the right one below the left. In any event, the left-below-right positioning seen on this figure (along with the protruding elbows) suggests that sculptors were still experimenting with the idea of folding the arms and that the arrangement had not yet become the rule by any means. Once it did, early in EC II, the left-below-right orientation of the arms is extremely rare until the latest variety of the foldedarm figure.

The figure is likely to be from the same source as the harp player illustrated in [plate 21.48](#). A precanonical work that has generated much discussion and controversy over the years, it is the earliest representation in marble of a rare occupational type now numbering

eleven examples that I at least regard as genuine. Of these, ten were carved in the Kapsala and Early Spedos styles of the first half of EC II (see [table I](#); pl. 26e; [fig. 16d](#)).⁴⁹ The question that springs to mind, given the accompanying information, is: could one sculptor possibly have made both works? This is by no means easy to answer. Despite the very obvious stylistic differences, one cannot overlook the fact that the two compositions are nearly identical in height and that both are large for precanonical sculptures. They are also unusually well preserved: the female figure is unbroken; the male representation is complete— one of only two of the eleven examples of its type in such excellent condition.

On both works the neck is unusually short, and the basic head shape is similar, although the female's head does not bend back near the top as much as the heads of most other precanonical works. The facial features were possibly quite similar, too, although the female lacks ears, and unfortunately its face is quite weathered, making the eyes and mouth less distinct than they once were. The eyes of the harp player, on the other hand, are made more conspicuous by the vestiges of paint preserved in the grooves, and also by accretions that formed subsequent to the burial of the work.

Perhaps the most striking point of similarity is the presence of slim cutouts separating the arms from the torso on the female figure, and the frame from the backrest of the harp player's chair.⁵⁰ And if one compares the rear of the two sculptures (pl. 22), there is also a clear resemblance between the outline of the female's back and that of the inner contours of the chairback. Remarkably, the width of the back, between the inner lines of the cutouts (at about the midpoint of their height), differs on the two pieces by only 5 mm. Such a coincidence would not have occurred intentionally, yet I believe it is more likely to have occurred in the work of the same sculptor than in the work of different sculptors. So, too, the overall height of the composition in each case would not have been made the same consciously, but it seems natural to suppose that that was a comfortable size for that particular craftsman to work in.

TABLE 1. Incidence of special figures among different types and varieties

Special type	Precanonical	Kapsala or E. Spedos [Style A]	L. Spedos	Dokathismara	Chalandriani	cited in lit.*/dating unknown
Harp player	*	***** *****				*
Cupbearer		***				
Seated female	*	**** ****				
Standing woodwind		****				
Mother with child on head	*	*****		*		**
Two-figure side-by-side		*****				
Two-figure mother holding child		or ●-----●				
Three-figure group		*				

Key: * = one work
 ● = Style B
 * = See ACC, no. 257 (text); Bent, 82

Note: Kapsala and Early Spedos examples are grouped together because it is not always easy to differentiate the two styles on works representing the special types, many of them fragmentary. Four complete and partially preserved bases with feet found on Keros could belong to fragmentary examples cited here among the standing woodwind and two-figure side-by-side types.

Looking at the two figures closely once again, one is struck particularly by the contrast in the treatment of the arms and hands and of the legs and feet. On the harp player the arms and hands, complete with fingernails, are remarkably—and, for some, disturbingly—realistic; on the female figure the opposite is true. On the harp player the legs and feet are much less dramatically shaped and detailed than the arms and hands: there is little indication of musculature in the calves, and the toes are simple grooves, very different from the deeply cut fingers that stand out on the harp frame, clearly distinguished from each other in sharp relief. Whereas the arms and hands, with their thumbs carved completely in the round, give the fullest possible expression to the precanonical interest in anatomy, the legs and feet appear cast in a new mold, as it were. Treated very much like the legs and feet of the later harp players, they already show an inclination toward the streamlining and simplification of form that took hold at the beginning of EC II.

The female figure's undifferentiated hands with their short fingers and small feet with their short toes are both understated and stylistically more homogeneous than the harp player's. The bulging calves, however, are roughly analogous to the powerful arm muscles of the musician figure. Given the sculptor's obvious talent for manipulating the marble, seen in the relief work of the arms, the complex contours along the profile, and the cuttings between the arms and torso, it does not seem to me impossible that the man who made this figure could have gone on, later in his career, to carve the harp player. In any event, whether or not the two works were fashioned by

one person, they are likely to have been made near the end of the transitional phase, shortly before the reclining folded-arm figure came into its own.⁵¹

The slitlike openings seen on the two works were made by rubbing an abrasive tool back and forth until the entire thickness of the part being worked was pierced. Although, as far as we know, this type of openwork was not used again to separate the arms from the body until late in EC II (e.g., [fig. 12b](#)), the very same technique would have been used to cut an open space between the legs when the feet were to remain joined, as on the female figure and also the figure in [plate 18](#). Making arm cutouts was more dangerous than dividing the more substantial legs, since any resulting damage would have been irreparable, and in any case, once sculptors were able to fold the arms of their figures securely, they no longer needed to make the upper torso unnaturally broad; nor did the elbows have to protrude, making arm cutouts, however attractive, hardly worth the extra risk. However, the new method of strengthening the legs was very soon to become standard among the folded-arm figures of EC II.

Precanonical female figures are represented in the standing position inherited from the Plastiras sculptors of EC I. With the head bending back at the top, the feet joined at the ankles, and the arms folded across the body, it was but a short step, sculpturally, to a reclining position. With a slight angling and inclination of the feet and some flexion of the knees—the latter already hinted at on certain precanonical works (pls. 19, 20)—the posture was easily transformed from one that was precarious at best to one that was safe and secure. Henceforth, when a sculptor wished to make a figure stand, he separated the legs all the way to the crotch, but the feet he carved on a base that enabled the image to maintain its stance with some stability ([fig. 16a, b](#)), unlike the few early works that can stand on their own.

CHAPTER TWO

The Reclining Folded-Arm Figure and Its Varieties

Cycladic Sculpture of the Early Cycladic II Period

Besides the precanonical or precursor figures with unequivocally folded arms, five varieties of the standard folded-arm figure have been recognized (and named after sites where representative examples were found): the Kapsala, Early Spedos, Late Spedos, Dokathismata, and Chalandriani. Scholars do not always agree on the divisions, or on the classification of certain works. Indeed, I have changed my own mind more than once. The difficulty arises because the development of the EC sculptural tradition was a continuous, albeit hardly linear, process, with input from many individuals. The great wealth of material, little of it from systematic excavations, does not always allow the imposition of clear divisions. Especially in the transition from one variety to another, when figures tend to be a blend of characteristics of both, and also in the case of fragmentary works, it is often difficult to decide on the correct label.

It is highly unlikely that all sculptors at any given point would have moved in the same direction or at the same rate. Changes were presumably made first by a handful of especially adventurous figure-makers, followed after a time by their bolder admirers; after them, the more skeptical would have somewhat reluctantly followed suit, with the most old-fashioned holding out until it was no longer in their interest to do so. While it is clear, for example, that the Kapsala variety developed from the innovations of the precanonical sculptors, there was probably a period of time when works we would consider precanonical in spirit were still being made alongside the Kapsala. And while the Early Spedos style seems to have followed naturally enough from the Kapsala, some sculptors may have gone from a precanonical approach to the Early Spedos.⁵² For a relatively short time the Kapsala and Early Spedos varieties may have overlapped, but because the Kapsala variety figure is virtually absent among the finds from Keros (where the other EC II folded-arm varieties have been found in abundance), we can assume that it was soon eclipsed.

We can also be quite certain that the reclining folded-arm figure did not come into its own all of a piece, since not all presumably early examples show all the elements normally associated with it. Generally, it seems appropriate to assign figures to the Kapsala variety rather than the precanonical group if their arms are fully extended in the right-below-left folded position, and if their faces lack sculpturally indicated features other than the nose and, in rare cases, ears, and if they no longer exhibit powerful musculature through the thighs and calves. However, such figures may still hold their feet in a position consistent with a standing posture, or the feet and legs might still be carved separately to the knees, or both.

With the Kapsala figure one sees a new tendency toward slenderness and attenuation, made possible in part by the full extension of the parallel forearms. The shoulders and hips are now much narrower, the legs rather long and, in profile, well-defined but lean. The elbows are held close to the body, giving some figures the appearance of tightly clasping themselves. The sometimes quite bulbous head tends to be full through the cheeks and chin, and at the back has a flattened area strongly reminiscent of certain precanonical figures. The head is set at an angle to the neck, giving it a distinct backward tilt that, with the flexion of the legs, contributes to the sharply broken profile. Fluid transitions and modeled details continue to be preferred to precisely grooved markings, and painting begins to be regularly used for almond-shaped eyes and hair treated as a solid mass; the pubic triangle was at least sometimes painted.

Kapsala figures, like their precanonical forerunners, tend to be modest in size, only rarely exceeding 30 cm in length. The evenly proportioned figure illustrated in [plate 24a](#) is only 17.2 cm long, yet its talented sculptor was able in this case to incise five long, delicate, and evenly spaced fingers in the very limited space available to him. It is indeed unusual to find carefully incised fingers in the correct number on folded-arm figures measuring less than 40 cm (and therefore unusual to find them on Kapsala figures at all), for the simple reason that there was not enough room in which to make a good job of it. Unlike some of the Plastiras and precanonical sculptors, the carvers of folded-arm figures did not emphasize the hands. One senses that on the work in [plate 24a](#) the sculptor has allowed a slightly greater width for the hands than the arms, not because he was aiming for a naturalistic effect, but to gain a bit more space. The finger incisions are about 1 mm apart; normally sculptors needed, or at least preferred, a space of about 2 mm.

On the somewhat emaciated-looking figure illustrated in [plate 23](#), all the salient features of the Kapsala variety are present, although, when it is placed on its back, the feet are only slightly inclined. Here

the upper arms and chest are strangely long and the prominent breasts low. Below the thin forearms one can discern a slight belly bulge, which, together with the arms, rendered as simple parallel bands in relief, suggests a series of schematic abdominal folds or creases.

ABDOMINAL BANDS AND FOLDED ARMS

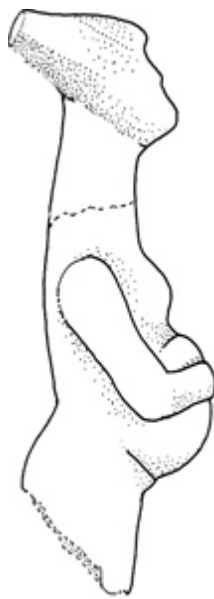
The deliberate marking of a pattern of abdominal grooves, common enough on EC I images, had ceased by the beginning of EC II, yet it mysteriously reappeared toward the end of the period, some four centuries later. The pattern tends to occur on flatter types and varieties (e.g., the Plastiras, violin, Dokathismata, and Chalandriani), where the condition of pregnancy is not as likely to be indicated (as on precanonical, Kapsala, and Spedos images) by a conspicuously swollen abdomen (fig. 14; pls. 14, 19).⁵³ Even if, as I have assumed, abdominal bands or creases and a bulging belly were synonymous or interchangeable in the mind of the EC figure-maker, symbolizing the entire process that culminates in new life, it remains difficult to explain the apparent absence of the motif on all but one or two precanonical images and virtually all early EC II ones.⁵⁴ Elsewhere I have suggested that the pattern of parallel grooves might have been kept alive by its use on marble pyxides contemporaneous with the early folded-arm figures.⁵⁵ If the bands created by the grooves represent bindings, one might postulate that they reflect an actual custom among EC women and that the custom persisted even if there was a hiatus in the sculptural representation of it. However, if the grooves represent bindings, one might expect them to continue onto the sides and rear of images that have them, which they never do.

In [Chapter 1](#) I suggested that the two parallel lines of the opposed forearms of female Plastiras figures could double, psychologically or perceptually, as abdominal grooves, reinforcing the notion of pregnancy and parturition. I believe that in EC II, the forearms, now rendered as three parallel lines, continued to play the same double role in the minds of both craftsman and user. This may help to account for the survival of the motif despite its long dormancy. It may also explain why, on many folded-arm figures, the mid-section is curiously abbreviated or even seemingly missing altogether. The forearms could in effect hide, protect, enhance, emphasize, or serve as a substitute for the abdomen.⁵⁶

The Kapsala and earliest Early Spedos sculptors effectively solidified the folding of the arms, with the right arm all but unfailingly placed below the left. Thus began a tradition that was to last several hundred

years. Elsewhere I have sought to explain the right-below-left convention as the creation of right-handed sculptors who would have found it easier to draw the arms that way.⁵⁷ Its remarkably consistent use, once established, may have been due to an unconscious effort to maintain an illusion of symmetry. After being exposed to a fair number of folded-arm figures, one becomes so accustomed to the right arm being the lower one that the arrangement appears to be symmetrical, even though, strictly speaking, it is not. By the same token, when presented with an example of arm reversal (or a photograph of a figure that has been mistakenly printed in reverse),⁵⁸ one has the impression that its entire balance has been upset—that something is very wrong.

The folding of the arms is arguably the most arresting and defining feature of EC II figures. Curiously, for all that it is a stylized depiction (with variations) of two or three quite natural ways of holding the arms—something to remember when seeking influences from outside the Cyclades—it is nevertheless extremely rare in ancient art. Among prehistoric figures, few fully articulated examples comparable to the Cycladic come easily to mind. Among the most graphic are the well-known electrum and gold figure from Hasanoğlu in Anatolia, shown here without its sheet-gold attachments ([fig. 15a](#)), and a virtually unknown and quite exceptional Chalcolithic seated figure of picrolite from Cyprus ([fig. 15b](#)).⁵⁹ So rare is the folded arrangement of the arms, in fact, that cross-cultural influence has been suggested.⁶⁰ One reason for the rarity of the folded arrangement, despite its usefulness in stone sculpture as a way of carving the arms *on* the body, might be that it is not truly symmetrical; others might be that the gesture was considered too mundane, without significance, or too off-putting.⁶¹



14.4 cm

Fig. 14. A fragmentary precanonical figure

For the folded-arm position to have become popular in the Cyclades in the first place and then for it to have endured so successfully for so long, I believe it must have been more than just a convenient but meaningless artistic convention. Its convenience is undeniable: sculptors used it at every opportunity, and on male figures as well as female ones. The arms, until the Chalandriani variety, are invariably folded, except on works, such as the musician figures, where both arms are shown engaged in a specific action (fig. 16a, d; also b). If only one arm is occupied, the other is positioned in the usual way. The cupbearer, for example, holds his cup in one outstretched hand, but his free arm is folded against his body (fig. 16c).⁶² The same is true of the rare compositions in which two figures, carved side by side, clasp each other round the back with their adjacent arms, but their unoccupied outer arms, again, are folded across their torsos (pl. 26d; figs. 16e, 34).⁶³ And yet, given the fact that the folded position evolved gradually and naturally (and therefore not by adoption from elsewhere), it was probably also something less than a gesture with a new or consciously articulated meaning.⁶⁴ The folding of the arms should perhaps be viewed as a relatively easily rendered, generalized gesture with an important design component—a gesture that endowed an image with a calm, self-contained quality while providing a focal point to attract the user/viewer's attention to that part of the body which was the container of new life.

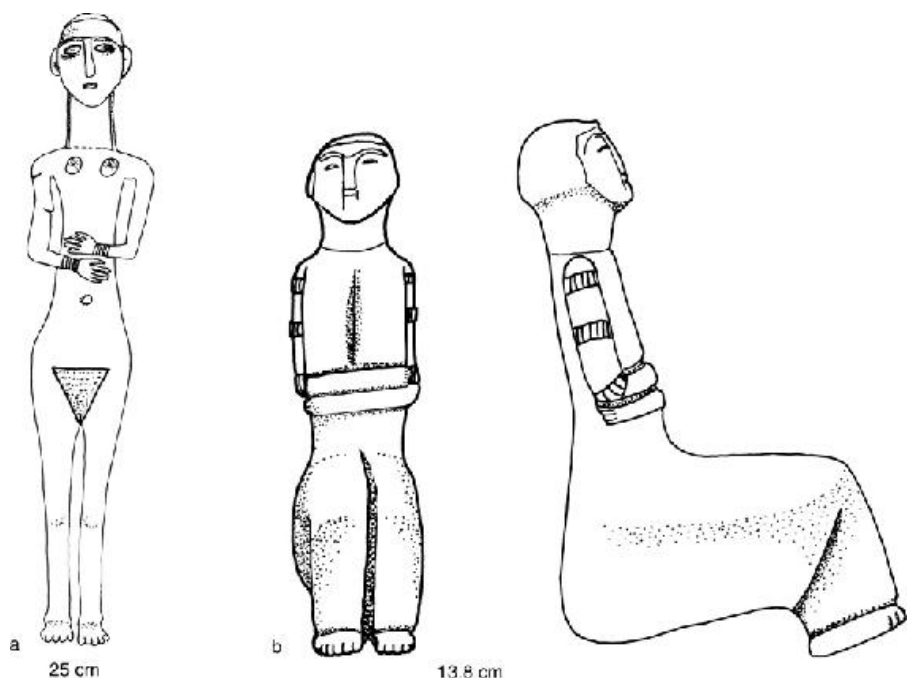


Fig. 15. Rare folded-arm figures from lands east of the Cyclades

The reader may doubt that the particular arrangement of the arms could have had anything to do with the mysterious process leading to birth, since male figures are on occasion represented in the same way. Male images are, however, exceedingly rare among folded-arm figures.⁶⁵ Such works may have had their arms folded simply because that had proven to be the perfect neutral, passive gesture. (In the same way, the old opposed position of the arms, inherited from the overwhelmingly female depictions of the Neolithic Age, was used for both female and the less plentiful male Plastiras images.)

THE RECLINING POSTURE

When studying the photograph of the harp player in [plate 21](#), the reader may have noticed that although the musician's feet are held parallel to the ground in a position appropriate to his seated posture—as indeed they are on all genuine seated images—they do not actually touch the ground. I believe the sculptor had intended them to do so, but a miscalculation caused him to come up short. Not wanting to undertake the laborious process of shortening the chair legs for fear of ending up with different lengths or, worse, finding himself with one or more shorter than the harpist's, he simply left well enough alone.⁶⁶

Clearly, we are to imagine the soles touching the ground.

In somewhat analogous fashion, most reclining figures do not, strictly speaking, lie in a natural way, in spite of their angled and inclined feet, flexed knees, and backward-tilting head, all of which suggest a recumbent position (fig. 17). When placed on a flat surface, only the very flattest examples make contact with their backs; some touch it or come very close to touching it with their heads, buttocks, and heels; but most make contact at only two points: with the head and the buttocks, or, rarely, with the head and the heels. Very often, the legs and feet remain elevated, as if floating on air. When placed in a supine position, figures may have had their heads propped up in some way, bringing their feet back to earth, but there is apparently no evidence for this from excavation, in the form of stone pillows⁶⁷ or mounded earth, for example. Today we tend to be surrounded by the perfectly flat surfaces of furniture, shelves, and floors, but in the Early Bronze Age this is not likely to have been the rule. However accomplished EC craftsmen were, and for all that they doubtless produced some carefully finished furniture, objects then were more likely to have been placed on uneven surfaces of stone or roughhewn wood. It is therefore perhaps wrong to think in literal terms, since, had they wished, sculptors would have been quite able to adjust the alignment of their figures to make them recline more naturally on a flat surface. As with the harp player, it did not really matter that the feet do not touch the ground. Unlike the figures meant to stand, which are unable to maintain their stance without support, there was no element of risk involved if a figure did not lie as flat as a human being.

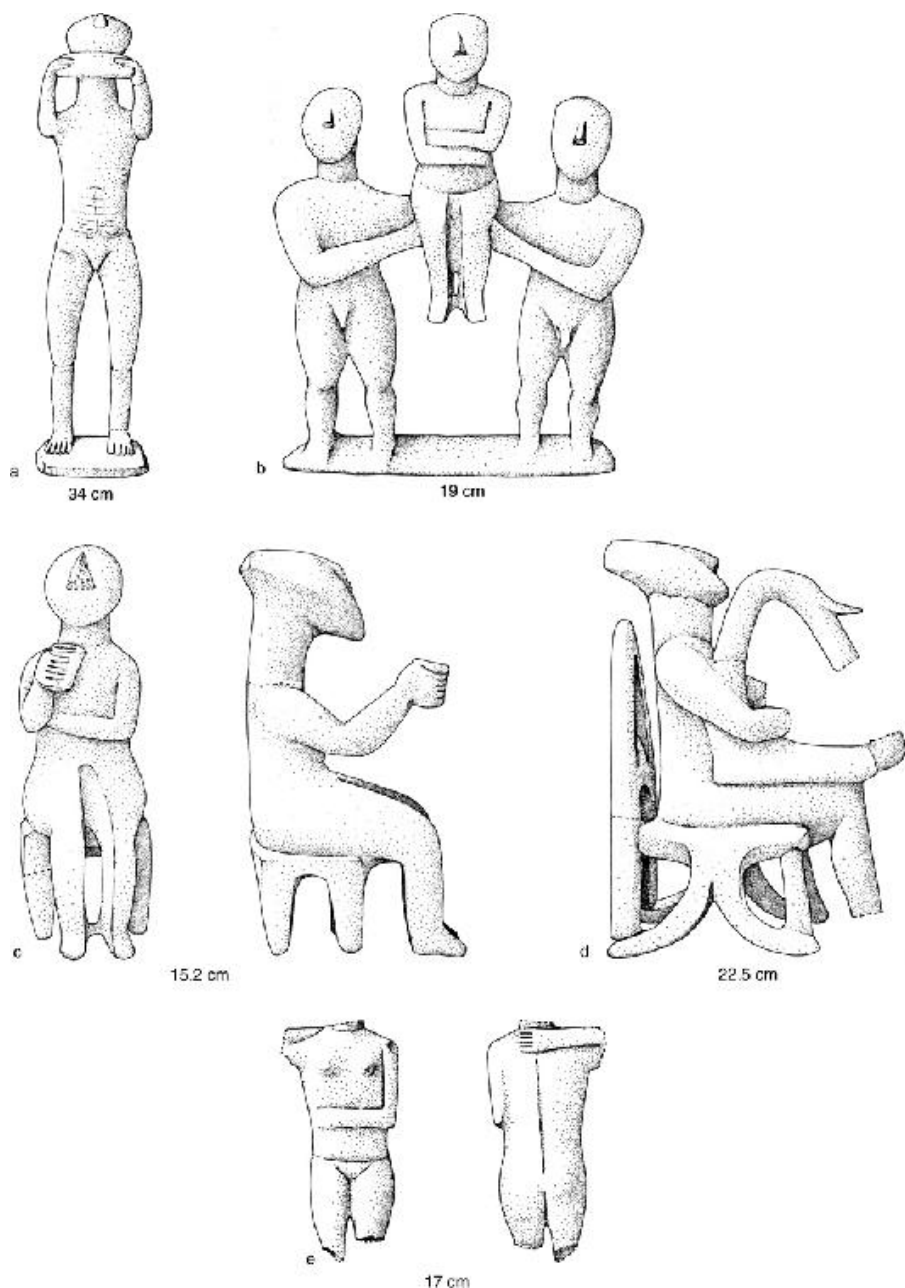


Fig. 16. Special figure types

I believe the folded-arm figures were thought of as reclining because it is a safe posture, and also because it is the position they would assume in the grave, for which ultimately they were destined. The majority of figures found in graves (as well as most that do not come from sanctioned excavations but are assumed to come from graves) are more heavily encrusted on the back than the front,

indicating that they had indeed been laid on their backs on the (seasonally) damp floor of the tomb. Whether, during their lives, people displayed the figures in a reclining position or propped them up we do not know, but they would have been no more (or less) accident-prone leaning against a wall, standing as if on tiptoe, than the earlier figures that were represented as standing but had to be supported in the same way. Even if the basic EC II posture was a reclining one, the figures need not have been placed on their backs in every situation.

Probably the most important aspect of the figures' function prior to interment was not display, in the sense that art objects are made to be seen, but some sort of magical or ritual use or uses⁶⁸ involving touching, holding, and carrying. Indeed, in both their relative narrowness and their surface finish, these works invite handling. One can imagine an image laid across a person's lap, for example, to be painted or wrapped in cloth; one can imagine an image being handed round from one person to another; one can imagine it being carried and presented in festive processions, much as holy icons and statues are today in Greece and other countries; and, when its owner died, one can imagine it being carried in a procession to the gravesite, where it would have had a role in the funeral rites.⁶⁹ In none of these hypothetical scenarios would it have mattered whether the basic posture of the piece was a standing or a reclining one. In some sense, then, the posture, like the folding of the arms, may have been viewed as neutral. The inclined feet are also aesthetically a very effective feature, which would not have been lost on the very design-sensitive Cycladic sculptors. What is more, it was probably easier, from the carver's point of view, to incline the feet: it allowed him to work freely within the narrow limits of a thin, all but two-dimensional slab of marble. Still, the inclination strongly suggests a reclining posture, in contrast to the horizontal orientation of the feet on seated and standing figures and the use of a base for the latter.

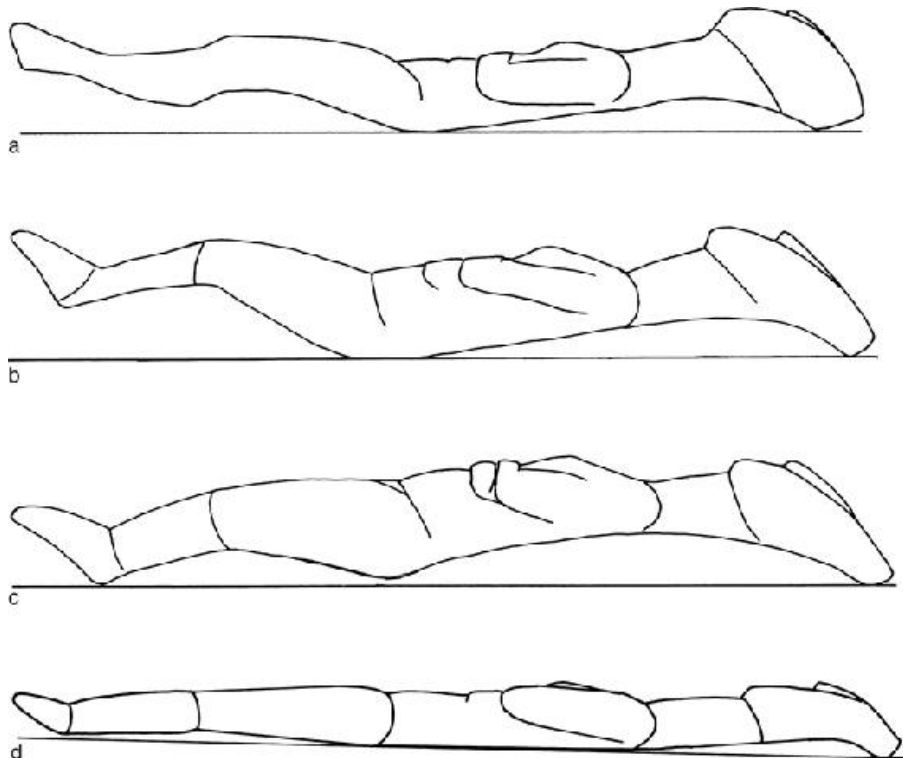


Fig. 17. Folded-arm figures shown reclining

THE RECLINING POSTURE AND MOTHER/CHILD COMPOSITIONS

Colin Renfrew, perhaps the chief critic of the idea that the folded-arm figures are meant to recline, finds the most persuasive argument for a standing posture in two-figure compositions of the kind illustrated in [plate 19.70](#) Only two such works are preserved in their entirety besides that precanonical one and those belong to the Early Spedos variety (pl. 26a); another, later example is missing all but the feet of the smaller figure. The larger figure of the precanonical composition does indeed have feet in a position appropriate to a standing posture, but the other three have feet that are angled and inclined. Renfrew does not offer any explanation of the meaning and purpose of these compositions, but he is quite adamant that they must be standing.

If one views these works as showing a magical or mythical birth, on the order of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (who in vase paintings is shown seated for the event), posture may have been of little importance, given the impossibility of the entire representation

in real terms. There are at present nine known examples of this rare type, including two mentioned in the literature and three consisting of no more than the head of the larger figure with the feet of the smaller one arising from its forehead or, in the case of the fragment in [plate 26b](#), from either side of the nose.⁷¹ The seven extant works, at least, were carved by different sculptors who were no doubt far more used to fashioning standard folded-arm figures. In each case the craftsman would have given his two-figure works the same posture he was in the habit of giving his single figures: standing for the precanonical example, reclining for the others.

The mother figure in [plate 19](#) is shown in a rather advanced stage of pregnancy, while the daughter image is not.⁷² What we are perhaps to read into the composition is not a mythical epiphany at all, but rather the simultaneous depiction of two normal sequential “events”: the mother’s pregnancy and then, following the delivery to be imagined, the presentation of the child. (In examples where the mother does not have a bulging abdomen, a single event might be assumed.)⁷³ While clearly it would have been more realistic to show the mother carrying or supporting her child in another manner, this essentially two-dimensional way would have been easiest for the sculptor (and easily understood by others). Unlike the complicated labor and risk-intensive harp player, which is likely to have been conceived first by woodcarvers, the two-figure composition, which seems of all the special types to have had the longest duration (see [table I](#)), was probably the idea of the marble worker, whose preference would have been to keep things simple.

There is, however, evidence that complex mother-and-child compositions were also attempted. The intriguing fragment in [plate 26c](#) shows an infant or small child being held by a figure most probably to be understood as female, which clasps it round its middle with hands held in the *Plastiras* position. From the part that survives, it is evident that a deliberate effort was made to represent the infant as different in form from the mother, and not simply as the usual small replica of an adult image. That this composition was quite complicated and difficult to carve is clear from the fact that there was a free space between the mother and child similar to that between the harpist’s back and the chairback ([fig. 16d](#)): the back of the child is finished, and the missing portions of the mother’s arms were carved in the round, free of the child and projecting forward from her own body. Whether, as I have indicated in the hypothetical restoration ([fig. 18](#)),⁷⁴ the mother figure was seated on a stool or whether it stood or reclined is not clear. The meaning of the representation was quite possibly the same as that of the more typical mother–child compositions, but, for the sculptor, bringing such a work to

completion would have been far more difficult. The likelihood that the mother figure in this case was seated might suggest that the more common seated female figures shown with arms passively folded also depict some aspect of the process leading to childbirth—perhaps the moment of anticipation just before the event ([fig. 19](#)).⁷⁵

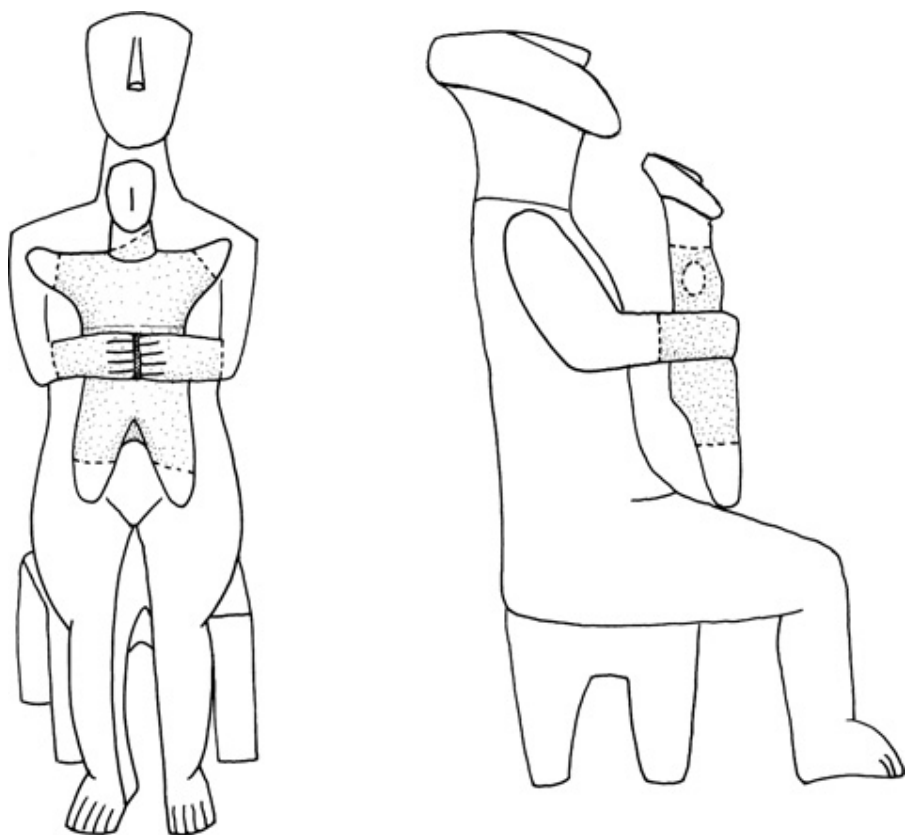
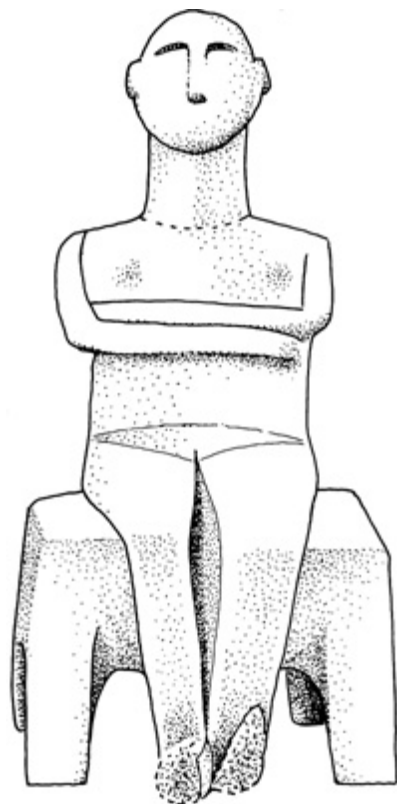


Fig. 18. A hypothetical reconstruction of the work shown in [plate 26c](#)



8.3 cm

Fig. 19. A precanonical seated female figure

THE SPEDOS VARIETY (PLS. 26–40)

Of the stylistic variants of the folded-arm figure, the Spedos is at once the most numerous and the most difficult to order. There seem to be almost endless variations on the basic theme as sculptors put their own personal imprint on works that in some respects did not vary at all. Of several hundred complete and fragmentary Spedos figures, I know very, very few that have the left arm carved *below* the right (e.g., [fig. 24a](#)) or that have any sculpturally rendered facial features other than a nose, and, rarely, ears; or that do not have clearly inclined feet.

STYLISTIC GROUPS

Among the figures of the Early Spedos variety, two large groups can be isolated, with most examples conforming to one or the other, although a fair number exhibit characteristics of both. In broadest terms, and bearing in mind that there are exceptions to every generalization having to do with the classification of Cycladic sculpture, figures belonging to Style A have a broken profile, like Kapsala images, but they normally have a lyre-shaped head (e.g., pls. 33–37) and full pubic triangle (or a V bounded on top by a horizontal groove crossing the front), which looks forward to the Late Spedos variety. Figures belonging to Style B have an understated pubic area, as in the Kapsala variety, but the profile is quite straight, like that of the Late Spedos variety. From the front (and rear), Style A images tend to be somewhat broader through the shoulders than Kapsala figures, and they show strongly curving outline contours and an indented waist. Style B figures tend to have a somewhat slighter build and more conservative lines. In both groups the elbows usually (but not always) protrude slightly from the body, and an effort was often made to adjust the elbows, especially on the rear, to make them level. The broader and more angular shoulders on Style A figures again foreshadow the Late Spedos variety. Round modeling now gives way to flattish relief and a preference for clean incisions to mark transitions and details. Almost without fail, the deep, wedge-shaped cleft dividing the legs is perforated between the calves, but often enough this perforation is quite short, leaving a thin membrane of marble above and below the free space. This represents a further attempt to make the legs as strong as possible; for the same reason, the neck is often shorter than before. Even so, the vulnerable points on all Spedos variety figures remain the slimmest ones: the transition from neck to body, the knees, and, to a lesser extent, the ankles.

In terms of size, Style A figures are as a rule quite modest. Most examples of the special figuretypes, usually also quite small, were fashioned in this style (pl. 26, [fig. 16b–e](#)), although a number belong to the Kapsala variety, with its modest sizing (see [table I](#)). Style B figures, which are much less numerous than Style A works, tend on average to be much larger and include all the very largest— that is, the relatively colossal works that measure a meter or more.

Style A figures had a much wider distribution than those of Style B, which seem to be confined to Naxos and her close neighbors. Conceivably, all Style B works were made on Naxos; probably most Style A figures were made there as well. It would appear that the two styles were coeval for most of their duration.

The information given above is presented in more simplified form in [table II](#), enabling the reader to see how the various traits of each of the stylistic groups relate to each other. Characteristics of the more

developed precanonical figures are included because I have come to wonder if Style A did not actually grow out of the precanonical approach, without much influence, if any, from the Kapsala variety that also evolved from it.⁷⁶

TABLE II. Characteristics of EC I/II and earlier EC II figures compared

Feature	EC I/II		EC II		
	Precanonical	Kapsala	E. Spedos A	E. Spedos B	L. Spedos
Head	tapered	usually tapered	usually lyre-shaped	usually tapered	usually lyre-shaped
Ears	occur	rare	none	rare	none
Shoulders	narrow/broad	narrow	broad/often angular	narrow	broad/often angular
Elbows	protrude	on/close to body	protrude	on/close to body	protrude
Pubic area	usually understated/often recessed V	understated/often recessed V	full triangle	understated/recessed	full triangle
Legs	separate to knees	usually long perforation	often short perforation	often short perforation	no perforation
Build	robust	slender	robust	robust but narrower than Style A	robust
Profile	straight	broken	broken	rather straight	straight
Front/rear contours	understated	understated	convexous	understated	understated
Size	modest	modest	modest to large	modest to "colossal"	modest to very large
Distribution	Naxos Amorgos	Naxos Amorgos Anapafos "Paros"	Naxos Amorgos Melos/Keros "Ios" "Paros"/Crete mainland	Naxos "Amorgos" Keros	Naxos "Amorgos" Keros "Paros"

The Late Spedos variety represents a fusion and further streamlining of the two Early Spedos styles. Late Spedos figure-makers seldom perforated the leg-cleft—the work shown in [figure 20](#) is an exception—and they further straightened and stiffened the profile in an ongoing effort to decrease the fragility of their works and perhaps also to reduce the amount of labor involved in the carving process. Of all the folded-arm varieties, the Late Spedos seems to have suffered the least damage in antiquity and beyond: more complete examples of the Late Spedos variety have survived than any other type or variety, even though considerably more Early Spedos Style A figures were produced.

A number of mostly little-known examples, including some especially fine ones, have been chosen to illustrate the Spedos variety. Rather than attempt to show something close to the full range of variation, which would require an entire volume of plates, I have in some cases elected to show somewhat similar pieces. Besides the works illustrated in [plates 27](#) through 40, to be commented on here, the work of a number of Spedos variety sculptors is discussed in

Chapter 4. As it happens, the complete Early Spedos figures treated in this chapter belong for the most part to Style A, while those discussed subsequently mostly belong to Style B.

Fragmentary sculptures can be both highly appealing and enlightening. They are also frustrating at times because, as noted, their incompleteness can make classification, and also attribution, difficult. Yet fragments enable one to concentrate on certain forms and details in a way that one tends not to if presented with a work that is whole. In [plates 27](#) through 30, four arresting images preserved to the same extent are shown in stylistic and chronological sequence. Missing roughly one-quarter of their length at each end, these works face the viewer with a calm authority that can make one forget that in each case roughly half is missing. This is in large part due to the fact that here, just as on complete works, the arms are the focal point.[77](#)

The first fragment is difficult to classify. It is certainly close to the Kapsala variety if it does not actually belong to it. The sharply broken profile and the restrained outline contours are Kapsala characteristics. However, this piece lacks the full attenuation of the thighs seen, for example, on the similarly preserved fragment in [plate 56](#) or on the figure shown in [plate 25](#), which, like it, has its elbows on the body. This is a trait also found among the smaller Early Spedos Style A figures. The elongation of the mid-section is rather unusual and perhaps compensates for the relatively short thighs—relatively short, that is, for the Kapsala variety,[78](#) but quite characteristic for the Early Spedos style.

While the first fragment belonged to a figure of about 30 cm, the second is from an unusually large work of roughly 80 cm (pl. 28). An excellent example of Early Spedos Style B, the robust figure had a rather straight profile and a flat torso, front and back. The arms, in flat relief, are symmetrically arranged, with the right hand extending nearly as far as the left elbow. Curiously, in spite of its size, only four fingers are incised on each hand. The tops of the thighs are carefully curved, while a complementary curving groove defining the top of the pubic area is sunk below them and merges with the unusually broad leg-cleft.

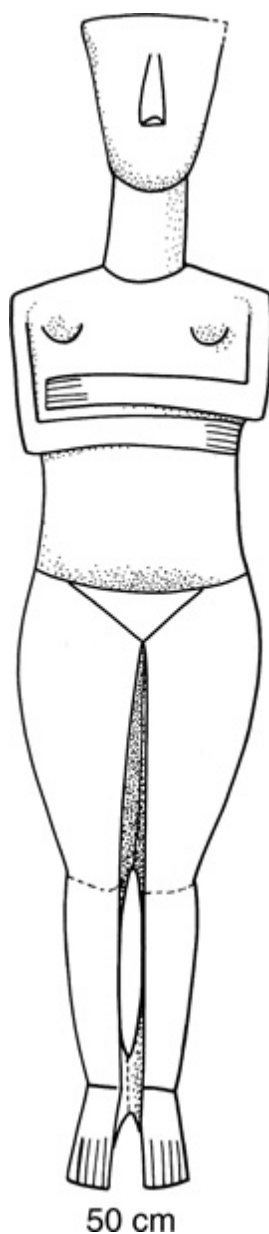
The third work is a large example of the Late Spedos variety that originally measured some 70 cm (pl. 29). More feminine in appearance than many folded-arm figures, it exhibits a well-defined outline with a long, slim waist. The forearms are relatively thick and carved in high relief; the fingers are deeply grooved, especially on the right hand, where they continue onto the side of the figure. Here, too, as on other Late Spedos examples with separated forearms, when the disparity in the level of the elbows is exacerbated by the space between the arms, the sculptor seems to have been quite deliberate in

making the arms asymmetrical ([fig. 20](#)). This is emphasized here by the fact that the elbows project well beyond the body.

The separation of the forearms by a clear space (rather than a broad groove) occurs rarely, and then only on unusually large, mature works of a small number of sculptors. The first known use of this emphatic device, designed, I believe, to concentrate the viewer's attention on the arms, is on the largest known figure of the Kapsala variety (pl. 57). It can be seen also on a very few Early Spedos B figures, but is more often found among Late Spedos variety images ([fig. 20](#)).⁷⁹

The final work in the sequence belongs to the very end of the Late Spedos and the beginning of the transition to the Dokathismata variety (pl. 30).⁸⁰ It is a beautifully balanced and boldly conceived and detailed piece that originally measured 55 cm or more. The breasts are full and pointed, the large pubic triangle forceful in effect. The well-proportioned arms are shown in relief and subtly angled so that, in contrast to the previous work, its elbows are level and the general impression is one of carefully crafted symmetry.

The next sequence shows three Spedos variety figures missing the head and neck (pl. 31), beginning with a diminutive figure carved in Style A. One cannot but be impressed by the sculptor's skill in fashioning this miniature: when complete, it would have measured only about 9 cm. (It is shown lifesize in [fig. 21](#), enlarged in pl. 31a.) Normally figures of less than 10 or 12 cm are rather awkward and unrefined, but this work is quite unusual. Note, for example, that the forearms are tapered, and the lower one subtly slanted to allow the elbows to be nearly level. The lively contours of both front and profile and the precisely grooved details are fully characteristic of Style A at its best. Presented with an enlarged photograph of this work, one would certainly not guess its small size, were it not for one detail. Just as on the two-figure composition in [plate 26](#) the child, which measures a mere 6.2 cm, does not have a perforation in its leg-cleft to match the brief one on the mother image, so on this work the sculptor would not have wanted to risk breaking the fragile legs by cutting through the cleft between the calves, which at their widest point measure only a little more than 1 cm.



50 cm

Fig. 20. A Late Spedos variety figure with asymmetrical arms

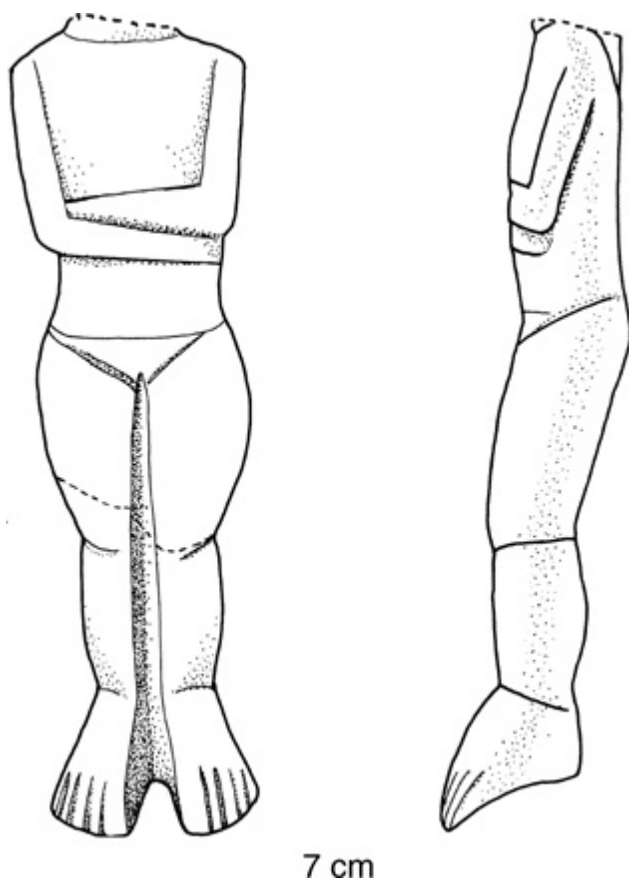


Fig. 21. The unusually small figure in [plate 31a](#), shown 1:1

The next work (*b*) is of about average size and characteristic of Spedos variety figures of Style B in showing a rather moderate curvature along the outline of the abdomen and thighs. It is also typical in having a rather straight profile. The arms, in very low, flat relief, are symmetrically arranged, with the right hand extending as far as the left elbow, as on the torso in [plate 28](#). The thigh-tops are nearly horizontal, in contrast to the curving ones of the torso just mentioned. This made it impossible for the sculptor to add a groove between them to denote the top of the pubic area. Instead of omitting the line, he somewhat tentatively added a horizontal incision slightly higher on the abdomen. Being unable to connect it to the thigh-tops, he made it cross the entire figure, repeating the straight, parallel lines of the forearms. The spine is also indicated in a hesitant way, with a combination of broad, shallow groove and discontinuous incision. The lovely, curving buttock groove, on the other hand, is precisely marked.

The third work, also of average size, belongs to the Late Spedos

variety. Broad through the upper torso and arms, and rather straight in outline and in profile, the main surfaces of the figure are essentially flat. The breasts are spaced far apart and understated. Horizontal and angular details and transitions are indicated entirely by means of confident, cleanly cut incisions, some of which continue around the sides and back. This is not unusual for the knee and ankle markings, but rarely does the abdominal groove end on the back. One senses that the sculptor enjoyed making these incisions. The leg-cleft, in typical fashion, is broadly channeled and unperforated. On the rear, the leg division merges with the spine in a continuous indentation that becomes increasingly shallow as it tapers to a point at the V-shaped transition from back to neck.

The forearms, with markedly projecting elbows, are treated—much more schematically than we have seen on the previous examples—as a single unit with parallel lines. In this not uncommon arrangement, what in front is the fully extended right hand becomes the left elbow on the rear, with the result that the elbows are perfectly aligned. On the front it is the parallel lines that attract and hold the viewer's attention, creating a convincing illusion of symmetry. One might also note the relative shortness of the mid-section and the fact that the top line of the ample pubic triangle is only a short distance from the arms. It is easy here to read the arms and the horizontal abdominal groove as a single series of parallel lines, reminiscent of the multiple abdominal bands or creases seen on earlier figures.

In [plates 32](#) through 37, six roughly contemporaneous Early Spedos Style A figures are shown. With the exception of the first one, these works are of modest to average length. I would urge the reader to study and compare the images very closely, noting how the sculptor of each one has taken the elements common to them all and informed them with his own personal style. I shall merely point out some important features.

The first figure's rather disproportionate appearance is due to the fact that one or both feet were broken, evidently during carving. Of necessity both were made shorter and also flatter in front than the sculptor had originally planned ([fig. 22](#)). In its reworked state the figure has an unusually long leg-cleft perforation. Normally, this perforation does not extend below the ankles, and I suspect that in the artist's original plan it did not either. It is likely that in reshaping the feet, he was forced to sacrifice a portion of the calves, which now appear too short. The figure was salvaged, but the feet, and indeed the image, considered as a whole, look odd. This work differs from the other examples in the sequence in having narrower, more sloping shoulders and a more severely abbreviated mid-section. It is also large enough for fingers to have been incised in the correct number on both

hands. On the smaller image in [plate 37](#), less space was available, yet its skilled sculptor managed to incise five fingers on the left hand; on the right hand he could fit only four.

The robust, broad-shouldered figure in [plate 33](#) has an especially shapely outline and profile, and its arms are subtly tapered, as on the diminutive headless work. This work is something of an anomaly in that, if one places it on a flat surface or perpendicular to the ground, its feet, although angled outward, are only minimally inclined. I suspect this was the result of a miscalculation on the part of the carver rather than his original intention.

The sturdy figure shown in [plate 34](#) has forearms that are conspicuously different in thickness. It is also readily apparent that the shoulders are unequal in width and the knees are at slightly different levels. Another common lack of correspondence can be seen in the inequality of the leg width on the works in [figure 24](#) (to be discussed below), especially in front view. Such asymmetries and others are indeed present on virtually all Cycladic figures, although they are not usually as pronounced. Some may view them as deliberate—measures designed to avoid the static or lifeless quality that attends mathematical precision. However, except possibly for a small minority of ambidextrous people, it is only natural to be unable to produce a truly bilaterally symmetrical image of any complexity without artificial aids, or at least without the benefit of considerable drawing practice, which was a luxury the Early Bronze Age artist did not have. The reader might try drawing the outline of a folded arm figure. It will quickly become evident that one side will be easier, depending on whether he or she is right or left-handed, and it will be very difficult to make the two sides mirror images of each other. Without any exposure to mechanically produced objects, I very much doubt that the Early Cycladic sculptor was concerned with mathematical precision to the extent that he would have felt the need to avoid it. On the contrary, in his own unselfconscious way I believe he was aiming for it.

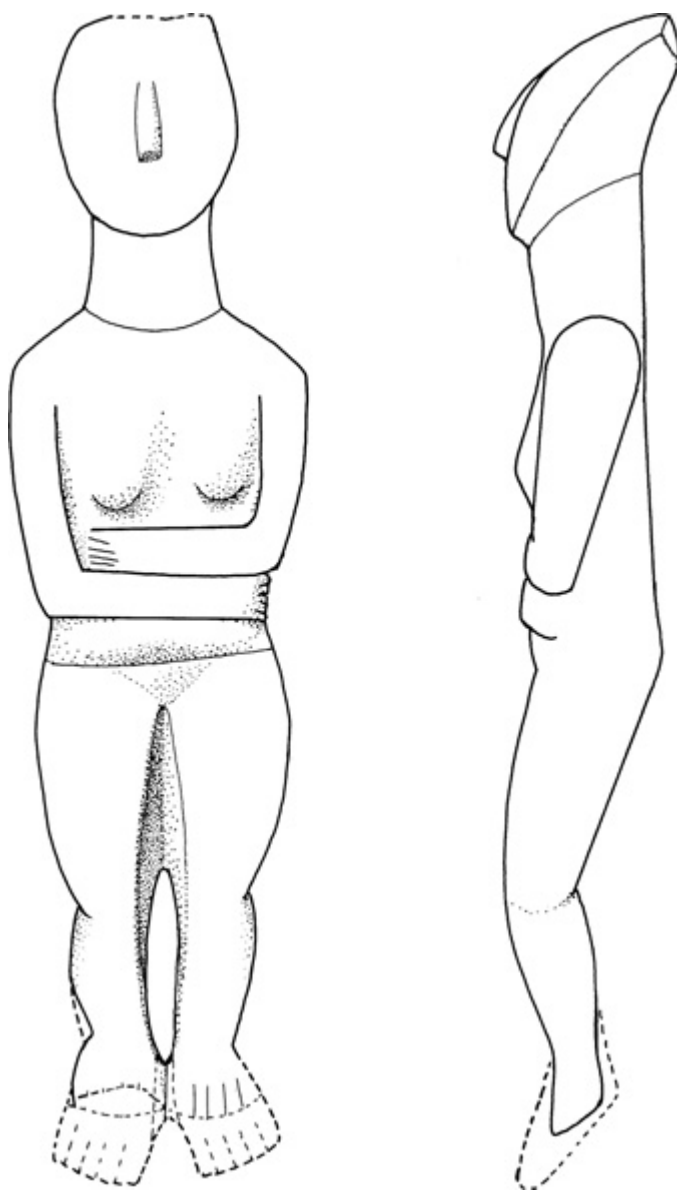


Fig. 22. A reconstruction of the figure in [plate 32](#), according to the hypothetical original plan

Sculpting in stone is, of course, very different from drawing. The most significant, if obvious, difference is that in carving one can only take away; one can correct, but only by modifying. Nevertheless, carving can involve drawing as an aid: in all likelihood the Cycladic craftsman would have marked the outlines of his image on the rough-trimmed marble before he began to shape it. From the start, he would have been guided by a drawing that was probably not exact. Also, he would have found it difficult from a practical point of view to carve

both sides from the same vantage point—especially the shoulders—unless he was equally dextrous with both hands. I believe he would have done his best to make the two sides of his figures match, and, given the difficulties involved, it is quite amazing that normally they match as closely as they do. Even so, he would also have been aware of the hazards involved in overcorrecting.

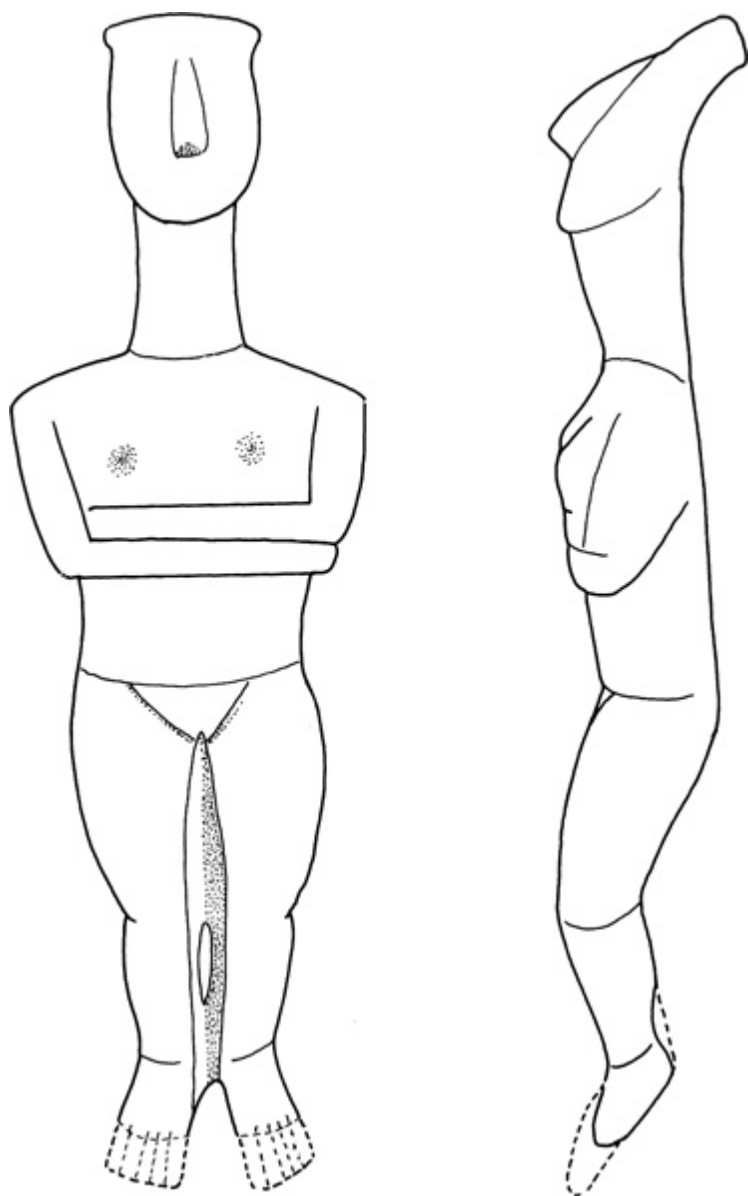


Fig. 23. A reconstruction of the figure in [plate 36](#), according to the hypothetical original plan

If one compares the profile of the legs of the sturdily built figure in

plate 35 with the legs of the other Style A images, one can see that its calves are strangely and dangerously thin in contrast to the robust forms of the rest of the work. This extreme reduction of the calves resulted, possibly following a minor accident or miscalculation in the shaping of one of them, when the sculptor came perilously close to trying too hard to make the profile contours along the back of the two legs the same— unlike the sculptor of the harp player, who left well enough alone when he found that the musician's feet did not touch the ground.

The reader will notice that in the figure in plate 34 and in a number of the illustrations showing the profile, a portion of the far leg and/or foot can be seen. In some cases this is because the photograph is not a precisely *true* view, but sometimes one leg is slightly advanced. Again, I do not think the sculptor did this deliberately.⁸¹

Turning now to the smallest member of the group of Style A figures (pl. 36), one might note that the unusually boldly carved lyre-shaped head, long neck, and strong, well-proportioned torso and thighs contrast sharply with the shortness of the feet, especially in combination with the rather short calves. In profile, the feet are considerably shorter and not much more substantial than the prominent nose. I think one should wonder if in the original design the feet were not slightly longer. In figure 23 I offer a suggestion of how the feet were meant to be, based on the feet of the figure in plate 37, the stylish elongation of which compensates for the shortness of its calves and contributes to the balanced effect of the whole.

From the front the two works are sufficiently alike, apart from their feet, to make me wonder if they could be from the same hand—the larger figure, with its more vigorous contours and overall refinement, a more mature work than the smaller one. (Note especially the full extension of their right forearms, a stylistic device, like the dropped elbow, designed to promote a symmetrical effect, as in pl. 31c.) If one looks at the profile, however, there are notable differences: the smaller work has the more dramatically shaped head and nose, and it shows greater flexion of the legs, while the larger image has an arching back. From the rear, the two works are quite similar, except that the incised V at the top is more acute on the smaller figure, and the spine is connected to its apex on top and to the legclef below, whereas on the larger figure the spine is disconnected top and bottom.

One might explain the tamer head and nose profile of the larger work as a modification of the sculptor's original plan, necessitated by problems encountered during carving, as I have suggested was true of the feet of the smaller work. This leaves the disparity in the treatment of the back. Usually, a sculptor with a confident, well-developed style will have a preferred, although normally not an original or exclusive,

formula for rendering certain forms and details. There are, however, no rigid rules. Some sculptors were more consistent than others; some were consistent in certain respects, but inconsistent in others.

PERSONAL STYLES

The five Style A figures in [plates 33–37](#) are very much alike; basically they differ from each other in what appear to be rather minor ways. Each belongs at once to a general or communal style and to an individual's particular or personal interpretation of that highly conventional, traditional style. An individual's style—his signature—consisted of a complex of characteristics involving every aspect of his work, from nuances of form and contour to the shape and execution of the internal details. Some aspects can be described in words; all of them are best appreciated visually.

Few artists seem to have been content to produce the same figure again and again in the same way or in the same size; few, if any, would have made a conscious effort to do so. Without other media with which to practice and experiment, each of the sculptor's works necessarily served as a trial piece for the next. While many if not most elements of the stylistic complex tended, intuitively or from habit, to vary very little from piece to piece, it seems only natural that at times a sculptor might try out a different way of carving a certain part or incising a particular detail. Depending on whether or not he was satisfied with the results, he might then incorporate this into his approach, abandon it, or try something else on his next piece. Subtle, unconscious stylistic refinements occurred, too, as a craftsman progressed through his working life (career). Once recognized, these appear to be logical developments that are easily understood in the context of his work, especially if the surviving portion of his output is sufficiently large. Finally, differences could occur in an individual's work because the behavior of the marble in reaction to his manipulation of it was not always completely under his control, as I have shown or speculated about. Hidden flaws in the stone or inaccurate or overzealous percussive blows to it would have forced him to modify his original design, temporarily changing his usual style. It is my impression—based on observation and common sense—that both conscious experimentation and unforeseen alterations due to mishaps occurred more often than is generally acknowledged. Some of these departures from the norm are obvious and easy enough to accept. For others that I point out in this study, I will doubtless be charged with interpreting the evidence to suit my ideas—moving the

goal posts, as it were. In any event, the bald, exposed nature of Cycladic sculpture, in which all that is inessential has been stripped away, makes even a small change or a minor mistake obvious, and able to alter the entire work, or at least one's perception of and reaction to it.⁸² Given the factors that could have influenced the degree of resemblance observable among the works of one artist, it should come as no surprise that each figure-maker must be approached on his own terms, by which I mean that the factors involved in attributing works to individuals will necessarily vary somewhat from sculptor to sculptor. There were no fixed goal posts, no hard and fast rules.

In making attributions, one must consider the whole complex of characteristics; it is absolutely necessary to examine the pieces involved from all sides. And if only two works are available for scrutiny, they will have to resemble each other very closely indeed—meaning that they are likely to have been carved close to each other in time—if one is to make a reasonably secure attribution of them to a single hand.⁸³

Before considering an example of that, let us examine the three figures of modest size illustrated in [figure 24](#). These works (which were acquired around the same time, possibly all from the same dealer) can, I believe, be ascribed to one hand—the Cohen Sculptor—on the basis of shared features, even though the rendering of certain forms and details is quite different from piece to piece. Apart from a strong resemblance in the outline contours of the three works, one should note the similar shape of the head in each case, as well as the shape and placement of the nose (especially in profile), the abbreviated mid-section, and the absence of the usual V-shaped groove at the top of the spine, which originates unusually high on the back. Among the differences to be noted, on the other hand, are the strong taper and the reversal of the forearms, the compressed pubic triangle, and the absence of any perforation of the leg-cleft only on the smallest work. On the second figure one may note the absence of individualized breasts and a pubic triangle. The proportions of the smallest figure also differ somewhat from those of the other two: it has a slightly shorter head and a longer neck, and it has longer calves and shorter feet. Sculptors (much like oral poets) appear to have thought in terms of units rather than individual forms when working out the proportions—the rhythmic pattern—of their figures, so that if one part of a unit such as the head/neck or calves/feet was elongated, the corresponding part was shortened accordingly. A pronounced example of this can indeed be seen on the second and third images, where the feet are, implausibly, longer than the calves. This, along with the treatment of the rear, must be considered rather idiosyncratic

hallmarks of the Cohen Sculptor's personal style.



19 cm



22.5 cm



L ?



a



b



c

The smallest figure was perhaps the first of the three works to be carved—before the sculptor’s style was fully formed. As mentioned, the reversal of the arms is extremely rare on genuine works of the Spedos variety (although not uncommon on copies and forgeries): I can count the examples known to me on one hand.⁸⁴ The absence of a perforation in the leg-cleft is also highly irregular on Early Spedos figures, except on very small pieces, as we have seen. Considering that the perforation on the second figure is minimal, one senses that the sculptor was reluctant to follow convention in the early stages of his development. It is not until the third work, which has a more typical perforation and in general is the most accomplished of the three, that the Cohen Sculptor seems to have come into his own, with a degree of confidence not in evidence before. Note the correct number of toes and the presence of fingers, albeit only four on each hand. The addition of the latter suggests that this figure is somewhat larger than the others, but not large enough to have space for the correct number of digits. (I have no record of the actual length of the piece and do not know where it is at present.)

Comparing the two Late Spedos works in [plates 38](#) and [39](#), which differ in length by only 4.4 cm, one can find very few discrepancies. (The slight proportional differences are set forth by de Vries in [table IX](#).) The breasts are higher on the larger work (pl. 39); the buttocks are better defined and the profile is not as stiff and straight on the smaller. All in all, the two figures are so similar as to leave no doubt in my mind that they were carved by the same person, whom one might call the Strangford Sculptor. It is likely that they were made at a developed stage of his career and at a relatively short interval.

The figure shown in [plate 40a](#), with its perforated leg-cleft, is perhaps a late example of the Early Spedos variety, to judge by its conservative contours and near absence of flexion, whereas the figures in [plates 38](#) and [39](#), which lack a leg-cleft perforation, are perhaps early examples of the Late Spedos variety. There may not be any significant chronological difference here. As mentioned earlier, the Late Spedos variety clearly developed from the different strains of the Early Spedos, but surely not all at once. There would have been a time of overlap and gradual transition.

In [plate 40](#) the stylistically late Early Spedos (or early Late) figure is shown next to two works of the Late Spedos variety. One may note the use of incision virtually exclusively for the marking of details (other than the nose and the understated breasts) on all three images, the moderate contours front and back, and the straightness of the profiles. Beyond the basic similarities common to the three pieces, each one is

“imprinted” with the signature of a different sculptor. For example, although all are large and occupy the entire width of the body, the three pubic triangles are quite different. That of the first figure is unusual in having noticeably bowed short sides; it is also unusual for its variety in that it is completely bisected by the upward extension of the leg-cleft. Here the straight top line repeats the parallel lines of the thin forearms. The straight top line of the triangle on the next figure and its typical straight short sides contribute to the general angularity and stiffness of the work, while the relaxed, curving top line and subtly bowed short lines on the third image accentuate its rather abbreviated abdomen.

THE DOKATHISMATA AND CHALANDRIANI VARIETIES (PLS. 41–49, 51)

With its broad angular shoulders and elongated, straight profile, the Dokathismata variety grew out of the Late Spedos. The sculptors working toward the end of EC II exaggerated the characteristics of that most conservative and least vulnerable of all the folded-arm varieties and added their own stylized touches and strong sense of geometry. Even though Dokathismata carvers tended to make the leg-cleft much shallower than Late Spedos craftsmen—on the rear it is often a simple continuation of the spinal groove—and even though they tended to keep the feet connected for all or most of their length, they often made their works thinner at various points. As a result, the reclining folded-arm figure once again became quite fragile.

The Chalandriani variety, which was produced in greater numbers than the Dokathismata, follows its basic style and mannerisms, but in a truncated version in which the arms are very close to, if not a substitute for, the top line of the pubic triangle (pls. 45, 46). The leg-cleft is usually indicated by little more than a simple groove. These works tend to be smaller and flatter than the Dokathismata, but they, too, often show abrupt bumps and bulges.

Some late works are difficult to classify as belonging to one variety or the other, since the primary difference between them is the presence or absence of a visible abdomen. In cases where the belly is shown in compressed fashion and the figure seems, as a consequence, only moderately elongated, which variety one assigns it to can be somewhat arbitrary (e.g., pls. 42, 43), particularly if it is incomplete. Although the two varieties probably overlapped chronologically for a time, and although the Chalandriani seems to be a simpler, smaller version of the Dokathismata, there is no stylistic or

contextual evidence to suggest that individuals produced fully characteristic—that is, clearly distinguishable—examples of both varieties.

With the Chalandriani variety there was also a not uncommon relaxation of the previously strict rule of right-below-left folding of the arms. Some images now have their arms reversed (pl. 46) or confused (pl. 42); in other cases the folded position was abandoned for one or both arms.⁸⁵ The feet, carved together for their entire length, are no longer always inclined, and it is therefore not always clear, given the rigidity of the legs, that a reclining posture is to be understood. And while some of these late works were well conceived and executed, others seem perfunctory in their workmanship. Fingers were on occasion merely scratched in a haphazard fashion (pl. 47a), sometimes on otherwise competently executed works. Because of their small size, there was rarely enough space for *carefully* incised fingers in the correct number.

The fragmentary figures in [plates 41](#) and [42](#) show graphically how susceptible to damage the newly expanded shoulders were. Indeed, the ends of the shoulders and the upper arms were one of the thinnest parts of such images, many of which have failed to survive with their shoulder points and elbows intact. The cuttings used on rare occasions to separate the arms from the body (pl. 42), in order to decrease the upper body width and perhaps to add an element of interest and verve to the design, no doubt escalated the risk involved for the carver.⁸⁶ Some of these works also have completely separated legs or a long perforation of the leg-cleft ([fig. 12b](#)).⁸⁷

Like many late images, the figures in [plates 41](#) and [42](#) had or have a quite three-dimensional, pyramidally shaped neck, which rises from a V-shaped configuration on the chest. The head is usually triangular or shield-shaped from the front, thin and slablike in profile, with a broad, thin, flat ridge across the rear. The nose is often prominent.

The arms are usually indicated by incision; only rarely are they raised in low relief (e.g., pl. 47). On the figure in [plate 41](#) the forearms are tapered, the right one just slightly thicker than the left, on which the sculptor had space for only four fingers. (The original length of the work was about 30–33 cm, with just under a centimeter allotted to the left arm.) This figure has a clearly dropped elbow. The same illusion of symmetry is achieved in a variety of more subtle ways on the other examples, except the figure in [plate 47a](#), on which the left elbow, through the slanting of the forearms, is lower than the right.

The figure in [plate 42](#), which was originally perhaps 30 cm long, has quite schematically treated forearms. To judge from the surviving portions, they seem divorced from the upper arms by the continuation

of the grooves, below the cutouts, right through the forearms, causing some confusion as to which arm is which.

Looking at the profiles of the works in [plates 41](#) and [42](#), one notes that the axis of the body and legs is straight and that along this axis there are protrusions for the knees and buttocks, as well as similar jutting breasts.⁸⁸ On some figures there is a hint of flexion, or at least the illusion is created, when, instead of abrupt bulges, there is a more integrated use of contours, as on the figure in [plate 43](#).

The images in [plates 41](#) and [42](#) appear to be represented as pregnant. On the second one, the compressed bulge of the belly and the thin, schematic arms read very much like a series of abdominal bands or folds, which now reappear as a deliberately added pattern. On the figure in [plate 47a](#), the very superficial lines are evenly spaced between the only slightly thicker forearms and the top of the pubic triangle. Curiously (and perhaps uniquely), they are no wider than the top of the triangle, although for some viewers the crudely scratched fingers might have the perceptual effect of extending the lines. On the figure in [plate 47b](#), there is very little difference in the way the forearms and abdominal pattern are treated: together they form a series of at least five bands or folds, or six creases.⁸⁹

The peculiar work illustrated in [figure 25](#) appears to have three arms—with no indication as to which is meant to be the right and which the left—and two pairs of hands. It is easy to regard this piece as the aberration of an untutored person or an oddity from outside the mainstream of Cycladic figure-making: I have done so myself. Seriphos has been given as the possible find-place, which, if true, would actually fit such a notion.⁹⁰ But viewed in the context of the perceptual confluence of elements at the center of the folded-arm figure—the arms, fingers, abdomen, abdominal bands/creases—the work is perhaps better understood as an unusual personal interpretation of this potent convergence and interchangeability of elements by an individual who lived at or near the end of the EC II period.

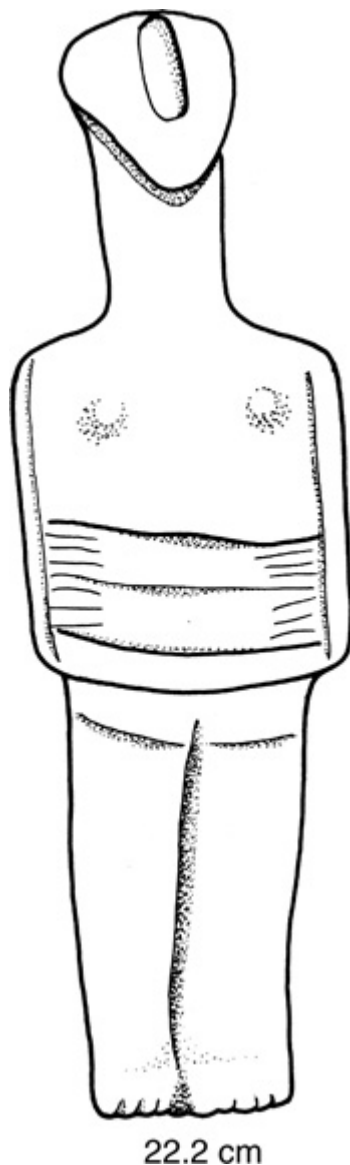


Fig. 25. A Chalandriani variety figure with unusual arms

Looking now at the figure in [plate 43](#), one is struck by the bold exaggeration of the upper arms and shoulders, the points of which have been restored to their original sharpness. This same definition is repeated in the elbows, which have remained intact. One is struck, too, by the carefully carved shieldshaped face with its dramatic aquiline nose and stern incised mouth. The latter is found also on the figure in [plate 44](#) and on a small number of other late works.⁹¹ The gentle arching of the right forearm on the figures in [plates 43](#) and [44](#) effectively emphasizes the slight swelling of the somewhat

abbreviated abdomen. It is a device used primarily by the sculptors of Dokathismata and Chalandriani variety images (fig. 12b).

Looking again at the figure in plate 43, one cannot help but note the graceful interplay of subtly curved lines and the alternation of severity with sensuousness. However, to achieve the degree of refinement he sought for this work of rather modest size—its original length was little more than 23 cm—the sculptor reduced the marble to a point that, at its thinnest, made it particularly susceptible to fracture. Work on the piece, except possibly the final polishing, would have been completed when the breaks at the base of the neck and the ankles occurred.⁹² I would assume that if the neck broke after the piece left its maker, it was returned to him for mending. He must have decided that a hidden, internal repair was too risky,⁹³ which left him no option but to employ the old technique of reattachment first used on stone objects in the Cyclades by Plastiras/violin sculptors, and occasionally by later craftsmen when concealed repairs proved too dangerous (pl. 7c; figs. 5a, 8b, 9).⁹⁴ Looking at the rear of the figure in plate 43, one notices that the backs of the arms, although thinner than the back itself (see profile), are not clearly differentiated from it by a distinct change of plane and/or grooves, as they are on the earlier varieties of the folded-arm figure. The same is true of the figures in plates 41, 44, and 46, with the last lacking any detail above the buttock bulge. The absence of arm definition and of either the spine or a V-shaped marking at the back of the neck is not uncommon on figures of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties. Many others, including those shown in plate 47 and figure 25, show a full or partial complement of such details, and in that respect are consistent with the majority of earlier works.

THE MALE FIGURE

We come, finally, in this brief overview of late sculptures to the representation of the male. Two basic iconographic types were produced, neither frequently. One was the folded-arm figure made in the image of the standard female of the time (e.g., pl. 48b). Very rare among early EC II figures, as mentioned, this type is only slightly more numerous in late EC II.⁹⁵ The most distinctive and cohesive type is the hunter/warrior, which appears to be the only special occupational type fashioned in late EC II. (The most difficult special types—those with elements carved in the round—were no longer made after the Early Spedos variety some two or three hundred years earlier. See table I.)

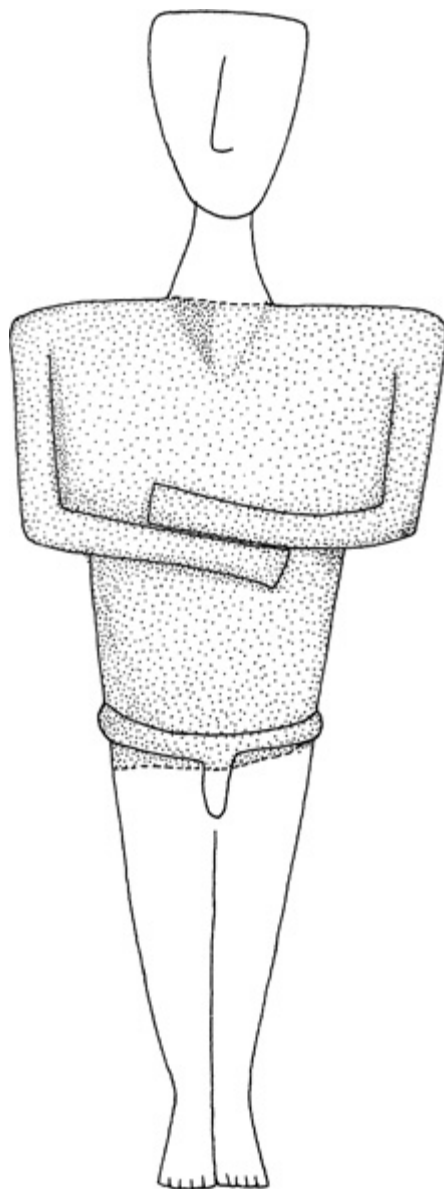


Fig. 26. A hypothetical reconstruction of the work shown in [plate 48a](#)

THE HUNTER/WARRIOR IMAGES

The hunter/warrior is characterized by his accoutrements, a baldric being the sole feature that appears consistently. A belt, with or without a penis sheath, occurs on some of the figures, as does a dagger; a few figures combine elements of both types. Two of these

began as quite ordinary (possibly both female) folded-arm figures on which a baldric was added as an afterthought by the incision of a diagonal line back and front, with the groove on the front cutting, implausibly, through the forearms.⁹⁶ In these cases the baldric seems a more indicative sign of maleness than the depiction of genitalia, which, on the work shown in [plate 48c](#), are difficult to read in any case because of encrustation. A third, fragmentary figure with unusually short forearms, shown hypothetically restored in [figure 26](#), lacks a baldric but wears a belt and penis sheath in relief (pl. 48a).⁹⁷

At present I know of six late EC II figures that were conceived from the start as hunter/warriors. The five best-preserved examples are shown in [figure 27](#); the sixth, insofar as it is preserved, most closely resembles *b*.⁹⁸ The one previously unpublished example ([fig. 27a](#)) is also illustrated in [plate 49](#). The four works that are most characteristic of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties have their right arms folded across the body in the normal way, while the left arm runs parallel to the baldric, which crosses over the right shoulder. This appears to have been the more usual arrangement. The carvers of the two atypical figures (*d*, *e*) seem to have gone against convention or at least to belong to a different strain of the Chalandriani variety: one has the baldric over the left shoulder instead of the right, and both have a seemingly free-floating dagger carved on the body; oddly, neither wears a sculpturally treated or, apparently, a painted belt, to which, in real terms, the diagonal strap would have had to be attached to keep it in place, and under which the dagger would have been tucked; and finally, they have one or both arms in an atypical position. Each of the images was found with an equally unconventional female figure.⁹⁹ The two sculptors responsible for these works seem closely related, either as members of the same family or as colleagues working in close proximity to one another.

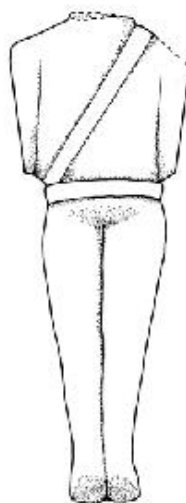
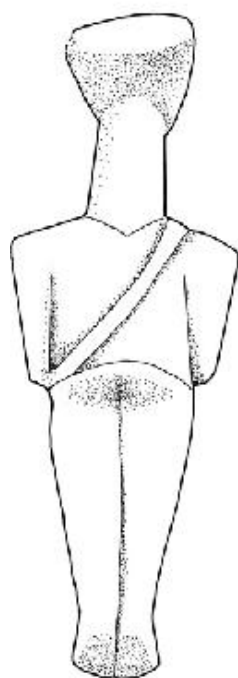
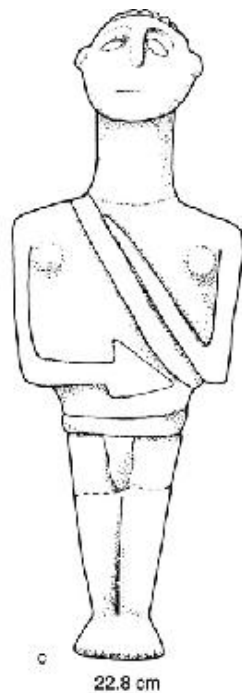
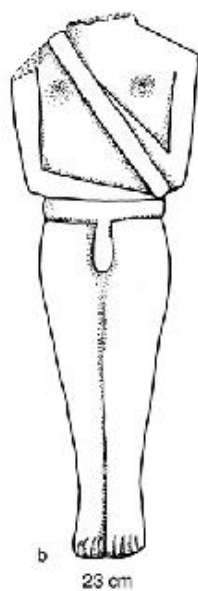
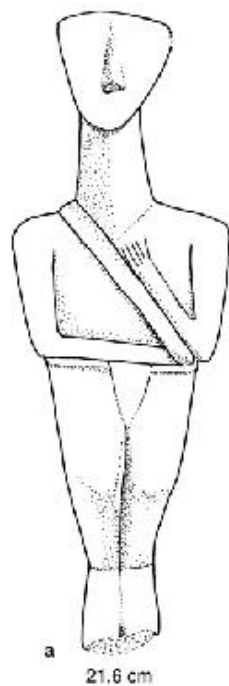
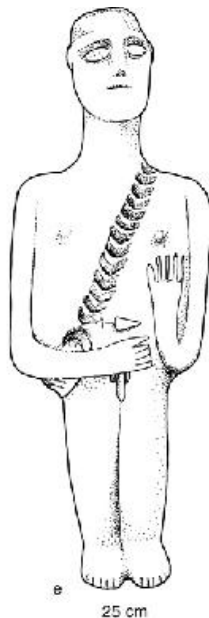
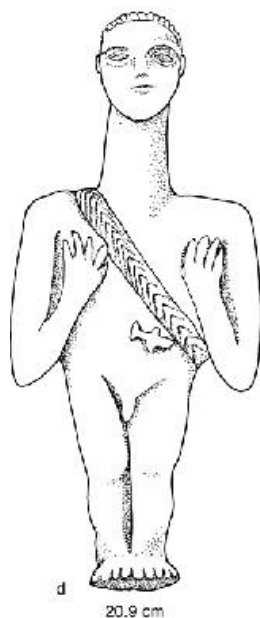


Fig. 27. Hunter/warrior figures



The figure in [plate 49](#) and [figure 27a](#) is a most welcome addition to the hunter/warrior type, partly because in its virtual completeness it confirms the existence of a core group within the standard foldedarm figure style. It is the only member of the group certain to have been fashioned with a characteristic Chalandriani-variety head. Indeed, in its basic form the figure is no different from an ordinary folded-arm figure (although it does not, like many male images, have breasts). Indeed, it is so like a standard female figure that its penis or, more likely, penis sheath is indicated by a relatively large incised V that differs from the female pubic triangle only in having a more acute angle. One might compare the smaller, still more acute V rendered in false relief on the fragmentary male in [plate 48b.100](#)

It would seem that the sculptor of the piece was not in the habit of

carving hunter/warriors, to judge by the way he has indicated the belt. On the front this is a weak horizontal groove, just below the right forearm, interrupted by the top of the V. On the rear the belt would have been much too low had the sculptor continued the groove horizontally, as on all other known belted males. To compensate, he had to make it arch over the buttocks.

Each of the five well-preserved hunter/warriors was clearly carved in his own style by a different craftsman. It is my belief that all these pieces were made around the same time, near, if not at, the end of the centuries'-long era of the folded-arm figure and, except for a few schematic figures produced in EC III, the end of *all* Early Cycladic figurative sculpture in marble.

That there was no chronological gap between the angular image *a* in [figure 27](#) and the freer, more elaborate and unconventional images *d* and *e* is, I believe, demonstrated by the pivotal piece in the middle (*c*). This work is linked by its taut, angular body to *a* and *b*; it is linked to *d* and *e* by its full complement of carved facial features and hair, and the inclusion of a dagger.¹⁰¹ Moreover, *c* is from the hand of a sculptor whose more usual, female images have quite ordinary Chalandriani-variety heads not unlike those of *a*.¹⁰²

THE RECLINING FOLDED-ARM FIGURE: BEGINNING AND END (PLS. 50, 52)

If one compares the beginnings of Early Cycladic sculpture—and in particular the beginnings of the folded-arm figure—with the end products, one might conclude that, despite obvious differences of style, the late sculptors had come full circle. Surprisingly, early and late works are alike in a number of ways. The first images were often broad-shouldered and had protruding elbows. After a period in which figures were made quite slender, sculptors gradually returned to the far more imposing, oddly masculine, broad-shouldered, elbow-projecting approach. This was most exaggerated in the last two varieties. Only early and late sculptors occasionally separated the arms from the torso with a free space. Only early and late sculptors tried nontraditional arm arrangements, but evidently they did so for different reasons: the precanonical artists sought to get away from the extremes entailed by the old Plastiras position, although their efforts sometimes lacked an assertive presence; Chalandriani variety sculptors, for their part, seem to have felt constrained by the folded-arm arrangement. By coincidence, they, like some precanonical sculptors, did not always extend the forearms (cf. pls. 15*b*, 48*b*), and

they, too, used the Plastiras position on occasion (fig. 28).

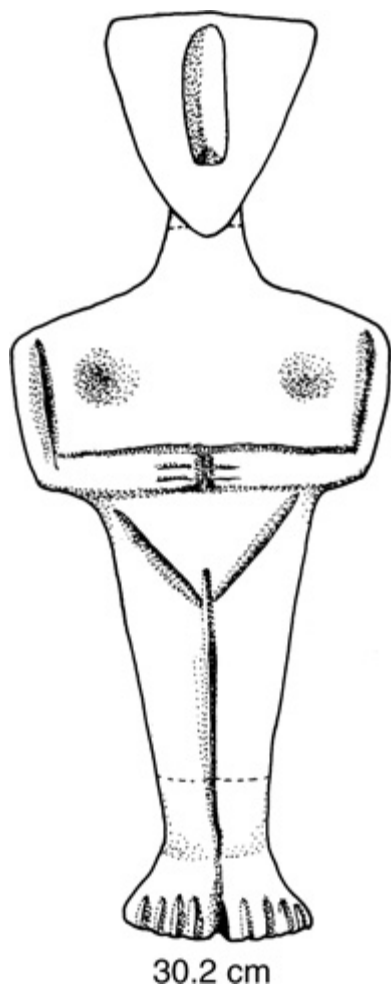


Fig. 28. A Chalandriani variety figure with opposed arms

Early craftsmen fashioned figures with a straight profile. This was “broken” for a time, but in the end a rigid and essentially two-dimensional approach was again preferred. Early figures were given an erect posture; some late figures appear also to stand.

Carved facial detail was a prominent feature of many early images, after which painted detail became the norm. But, in the end, as we have just seen, carved detail was again used by a number of sculptors. Among other important carved details, abdominal bands (or folds or creases) were common on early and late works, but are completely absent in between. As for the baldric, this occurs once on a Louros-like image and then not again until the late hunter/warrior.¹⁰³

Early and late figures tend to be modest in size, and, except that a complete separation of the legs reappeared in only one or two isolated

examples,¹⁰⁴ late figures tend, like the early ones, to be more fragile than the often larger works of the more restrained sculptors of Spedos-variety figures.

Doubtless some of the similarities are fortuitous; after all, the human form served as the sculptor's model throughout. Other similarities, such as the presence of abdominal grooves only on early and late figures, perhaps have plausible explanations, as I have suggested. For the rest, there is no evidence from the archaeological record to suggest that any precanonical works were known to or could have influenced the much later Chalandriani variety sculptors, although this is not beyond the realm of possibility.

We can marvel at the endurance of marble figure-making in the Early Bronze Age, and especially at the long duration of the folded-arm figure. Yet one cannot help but wonder why the tradition came to a seemingly abrupt end with the Chalandriani variety. This remains as much a mystery, perhaps, as the identity of the beings depicted in Cycladic figurative sculpture, a subject I have studiously avoided in this essentially visually oriented study.

To end this chapter, let us consider the enigmatic example of Cycladic sculpture in [plate 50](#). I would urge the reader to compare and contrast it with the works illustrated thus far. Given its unusualness and the inescapable fact that it is an orphaned object, its find-context unknown, it is difficult to place precisely because of the similarities between the early and late figures.

The shape of the head, with its rather shallow chin, seems close to the late style, although it lacks the sharp definition normally associated with the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties. Indeed, it lacks their crisp angularity throughout—and yet so do the hunter/warriors with the elaborate baldrics and their female companions. The absence of any differentiation of the arms from the back is also a common characteristic of the late figures, and the absence of the spine is probably more common on late than on early works (but cf. pls. 12a, 13, 18, 24).

The extreme breadth of the upper body and the markedly protruding elbows, as well as the rather straight profile, could be early or late traits. The treatment of the leg division might represent precanonical experimentation just as well as late convention, although it should be noted that the leg-cleft is quite broad and deeply furrowed on the front, which is not typical of the latest varieties (but cf. pl. 41). Precanonical figures, on the other hand, normally have at least a part of the legs completely separated.

The broad-based, strongly tapered neck and its gradual transition to the shoulders are found in combination on a number of Louros and precanonical figures (pls. 10c, 17);¹⁰⁵ they are found also in the work

of two late carvers: the Berlin and Louvre Sculptors discussed in [Chapter 4](#). The contours of the lower half of the work and especially the interest shown in the anatomy of the buttocks and legs suggest a precanonical preference, as does the separation of the rather amorphous feet. The inclined position of the soles, however, seems more in keeping with late than with early figures. In fact, the feet, whose inclination is not apparent from the front, are not unlike those of the hunter/warrior illustrated in [figure 27e](#).

At this juncture, I would like to introduce another curious piece of about the same size (when complete). The figure illustrated in [plate 52](#) exhibits some of the same features—most notably the broad upper torso with wide-spaced breasts, the extreme protrusion of the elbows, the absence of arm differentiation and spine on the rear, and the unseparated legs (albeit with splayed Chaplinesque feet that are not inclined but, in profile, resemble those of the work in [pl. 12a](#)). There are also certain similarities in the outline contours of the two pieces. The arms of the headless figure, rendered in relief, are of unequal length, slanted and asymmetrical in their effect, all of which suggests precanonical uncertainty rather than late inattention (cf. [pl. 20](#)). The stocky profile, with its modeled legs, also suggests a precanonical rather than a late approach.

Returning to the work in [plate 50](#): the Plastiras arrangement of the arms is much more common on precanonical images (e.g., [pl. 12b, d](#)), but, as noted, it also appears on examples of the Chalandriani variety ([fig. 28](#)).¹⁰⁶ The rendering of the forearms and hands is closely reminiscent of the mother-child fragment illustrated in [plate 26c](#), which, although difficult to date, is certainly no later than the Early Spedos variety and might well be precanonical. Compare especially the spacing and length of the finger grooves, the slight widening of the hands, and the fact that the hands are very nearly the same size on the two works. On both, the opposed position of the arms may have been dictated by the fact that it was a convenient one for two-handed (symmetrical) holding—of an infant or, here, of what appears to be a syrinx incised on the figure's chest.

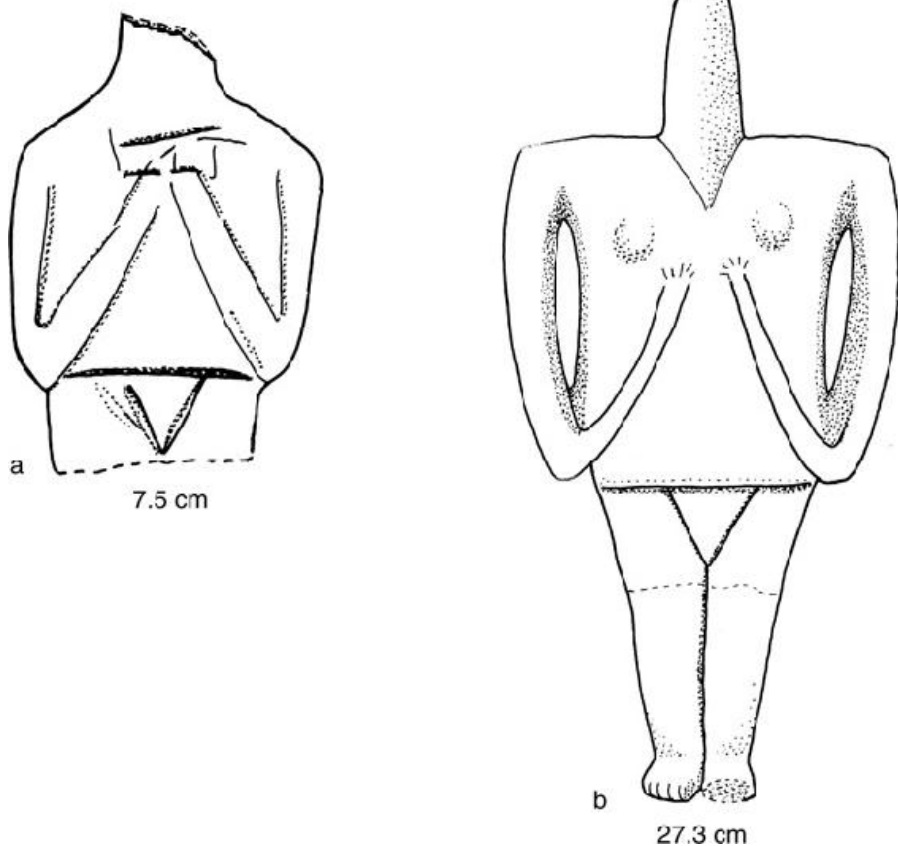


Fig. 29. Fragmentary figures of the Chalandriani variety with an unusual arrangement of the arms, *a* shown holding a boxlike object

The syrinx—if that is what the fanlike object is—is somewhat sketchy, but it is of interest to note that it is not symmetrically drawn. Instead, the instrument seems to be faithfully shown as a series of tubes of graduated lengths, quite unlike the streamlined, sandwich-like panpipes played by the musician in [figure 16a](#). The identification of the incised design as a musical instrument is strengthened by the representation of the figure as a male—the sex of all known Early Cycladic musicians. He is endowed with a long (erect?) penis, or, more likely, a penis sheath, in relief. He wears a belt, rendered as a single incision that encircles the sculpture, unlike the strictly frontal abdominal grooves on female images, but quite like the belts on hunter/warriors and also the male figure in [plate 48a](#). The precanonical harp player in [plate 21](#), alone of all the examples of its type, also wears a belt with a penis sheath. There, too, the belt is meant to be read as encircling, although in actuality it is cut off near where the back of the figure and the chairback merge on the left side,

and by the instrument's soundbox on the right side. Curiously, however, the belly is also swollen on the figure in [plate 50](#). Although this is perhaps accentuated, in profile view, by the raised penis or codpiece, one can easily form the impression that a pregnant state is depicted. The issue of sexual dualism seen on this work is raised again in the next chapter, in the discussion of the Doumas Sculptor.

To complicate matters further, the only parallel I know for the two-handed holding of an object incised on the body is the rather simple fragmentary piece shown in [plate 51](#) and [figure 29a](#). By its flatness and the simple rendering of details solely by incision—in places rather carelessly—one ought to be able to identify the slack-shouldered image as a late work. And, indeed, the best parallel for the arm position, and also the horizontal line that, in the absence of a folded arm, forms the top of the pubic area, is the carefully fashioned Chalandriani variety figure shown next to it.¹⁰⁷ And what of the object? Is it also a syrinx—shaped rather like the one held to the mouth of the musician in [figure 16a](#)? Since the work is evidently a female representation, I prefer to think that the object is not a musical instrument at all but perhaps a box (pyxis) of some kind. Indeed, were it not for the incised object on the figure in [plate 50](#), and perhaps also the raised arms, one would probably never suppose that the incised rectangle might indicate a musical instrument.

There is certainly some confusion regarding the dating of the piece in [plate 50](#). I myself prefer the earlier date, but the point of the exercise, besides showing the little-known image and its parallels, was to demonstrate just how similar some of the early experiments leading to the formation of the reclining folded-arm figure could be to works of sculptors who were close to and may have been part of the dissolution of that venerable tradition roughly half a millennium later. Alas, the exercise also points up how much there is still to learn about the development of Early Cycladic sculpture, both from the objects themselves and from their archaeological contexts.

The next two chapters are devoted to an examination or re-examination of the personal styles of artists to whose hands, in my opinion, at least three works can be confidently attributed. With the exception of the Plastiras sculptors in [Chapter 3](#), all of them fashioned traditional reclining folded-arm figures.

CHAPTER THREE

Sculptors of Early Cycladic I Plastiras Figures

In *Sculptors* I discussed four Plastiras artists I had first identified in the 1960s: the Missouri, Doulas, Metropolitan Museum, and Athens Museum Sculptors. Now, four decades later, no additional Plastiras images are, to my knowledge, assignable to the Missouri and Athens Museum Sculptors; however, the list of works attributable to each of the other two has been increased by a Plastiras figure of major interest.

THE DOULAS SCULPTOR (PL. 53; CHECKLIST PP. 151, 184)

The most prolific of the Plastiras carvers, as far as we know, is named after the archaeologist who recovered four rather small, for the most part partially preserved but fully characteristic female figures from his hand in graves at Plastiras on Paros and Akrotiri on Naxos [1, 6, 7, 8].¹⁰⁸ These, with two other works from Christos Doulas's excavations at these sites, and the finest and largest of the works attributable to the sculptor—a female figure recovered by Christos Tsountas in a grave at Glypha on Paros (pl. 53b)—are in fact the only Plastiras images found to date by archaeologists in their original burial contexts.¹⁰⁹

In its style and proportions—note especially the long neck and lower torso—and in the quality of its workmanship, the new addition to the sculptor's body of work (*a*) closely resembles the Glypha figure, despite the fact that it is slightly less than half its size and even though it is a male representation. Like the Glypha figure, it is unusually well preserved.

Distinguishing features of the sculptor's style seen on the figure include the slightly convex contour of the upper arms, shoulder points that are higher than the origin of the shoulders at the neck, and, on the rear, arm grooves that extend nearly to the shoulders. In its basic proportions—the ratio of the shoulder and hip-width to the height—the new figure is almost identical to the Glypha figure. With respect to the rendering of details, the breasts are slightly less prominent, but no less so than on some of the sculptor's other female images; the fingers

are few in number for lack of space for more.

The most striking and peculiar aspect of the new work is the presence on it of both unequivocally male genitalia and a pattern of five clearly defined abdominal grooves that highlight the swell of the arguably feminine belly. Of the Doumas Sculptor's previously known images, five are ordinary female figures (*b*); one weathered female has three barely detectable incised abdominal grooves [6];¹¹⁰ another has four that are still clearly visible (*d*). Besides these, two figures are male representations. On one, just below the arms, two parallel grooves that I earlier mistook for a belt have been recognized (*e*),¹¹¹ but this work, which has a weathered surface, actually has *three* evenly spaced shallow grooves, the third only barely visible under certain lighting conditions. Although there is space for a fourth and even a fifth groove, it is not at all certain, given the condition of the surface, that there were any additional markings on the figure.¹¹² The other male image has one, previously overlooked, short or partial groove on its abdomen (*c*). It appears as if the sculptor set out to give the figure a pattern of multiple grooves, then changed his mind. Among the early male images *not* carved by the Doumas Sculptor, one has a single horizontal line carefully marked across its front.¹¹³

Despite the presence of abdominal grooves, whatever their number, on four male figures (three of them attributable to one sculptor), the pattern was, I believe, conceived and understood as a female characteristic. Indeed, on two of the four males, the grooves even occur in combination with a swollen abdomen (*a*, *c*), just as they do on a number of female figures, as we have seen (e.g., *d*; pl. 47*b*; [fig. 4](#)). At present I count more than forty early female figures of various types—Plastiras, violin, hybrid, and Louros—and ten late EC II female figures that have abdominal grooves. The number of lines in the pattern, exclusive of the parallel arm lines and the top of the pubic triangle, which are often difficult to exclude because they seem so much part of the pattern, ranges from one to eight, with twenty-eight early examples showing three, four, or five lines—three and five being the most popular numbers. Regardless of their quantity, in most cases the evenly spaced grooves occupy all or almost all the space between the arms and pubic triangle, or, on violin figures with a single series of grooves, the entire indented (waist) segment (e.g., pl. 7*f*). The number of female examples with only one or two grooves is small, and on nearly all of those there is no room for more.

While the presence of multiple abdominal grooves on the new male figure is not unprecedented, as it turns out, the presence of *five* conspicuous lines occupying most of the available space certainly is, and it forces one to consider the question of sexual differentiation in Early Cycladic sculpture. Like the work in [plate 50](#), the new Plastiras

image with its seemingly conflicting attributes provides an interesting contrast to the many figures that are altogether lacking in primary sexual characteristics and that, if shown in a passive role, are assumed to represent females, but if shown in an active role—the harp players, for example—are assumed to be males. Even if these basic identifications are correct, as I believe they are, there remains a certain ambiguity: males sometimes have breasts that are no different from those of females, while the breasts of female figures, when indicated, are quite often not especially feminine in appearance. Similarly, the broad shoulders and proportionally slimmer hips of female figures can seem more masculine than feminine.

I expect that we are today more concerned with making clear distinctions of gender and more bothered by seemingly ambiguous or dualistic representations than prehistoric people were. And yet, considering the evident importance of the pattern of parallel grooves in the iconography of the female figure and its apparent association with childbearing, one cannot help but wonder if the Doumas Sculptor was giving expression to a particular concept—specifically, that of *couvade*, a term that encompasses a number of beliefs and diverse rites relating men to pregnancy and childbirth.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the most widely recognized aspect of *couvade*—one that is still current—is the sympathetic pregnancy, in which a man experiences some of the symptoms of his partner during labor and delivery, whether out of anxiety or in an effort to ease her pain by taking upon himself the risks and discomfort involved, out of envy or as a way of asserting his paternity. In prehistoric times, when the man's role in conception may have been imperfectly understood, biological distinctions are likely to have been less clear-cut than they are now, and the belief that men could also give birth, symbolically or vicariously, may have seemed quite normal.

It is impossible to know what motivated the Doumas Sculptor to depict his males as birth-giving images. One might wonder if he did so as a reflection of his own personal experience of *couvade*. If he was giving expression to a cultural belief or referring to an actual ritual, it is curious that there are at present among male representations none with multiple grooves from the hands of other sculptors.¹¹⁵

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM SCULPTOR (CHECKLIST ON P. 152)

Earlier, I ascribed three very well preserved Plastiras figures to the prime of a sculptor already encountered in the discussion of repairs

and reworking in [Chapter 1.116](#) Indeed, two of the previously known works of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor were mended following fractures—one in the upper neck and upper right thigh ([fig. 30a](#)) and one at the right knee ([fig. 9](#)). It is now possible to add a fourth completely preserved figure to this group [4], and, with it, another highly interesting repair. This time the fracture is in the lower neck, and the remains of the lead strips used to fasten the two parts are still partly preserved in the mending holes.[117](#)

The new figure, which is somewhat larger than the largest of the three previously identified works [3], most closely resembles the piece shown in [figure 9](#) in its proportions and contours, and in its sharply defined details. Like them, it is full of character. One detail worthy of note is the manner in which the elbow joints are set off from the forearms in a downward orientation. On the strength of its presence on the new figure, this rendering can now be viewed as an idiosyncrasy of its sculptor's style: the elbows of the work in [figure 9](#) are virtually identical. Of his two other images, however, one has less conspicuous elbows; the other has quite plain ones ([fig. 30a](#)). It is possible that the sculptor had intended to give these works the same boldly shaped elbows, but was forced during the carving to make adjustments that modified his usual style. For some, this might even make the attribution of all the sculptures to one hand problematic, so much can a work be altered by a small difference. However, as noted, such alterations are likely to have been more common than previously thought,[118](#) making it necessary, especially when considering the output of individuals, to look beyond a figure's finished appearance.

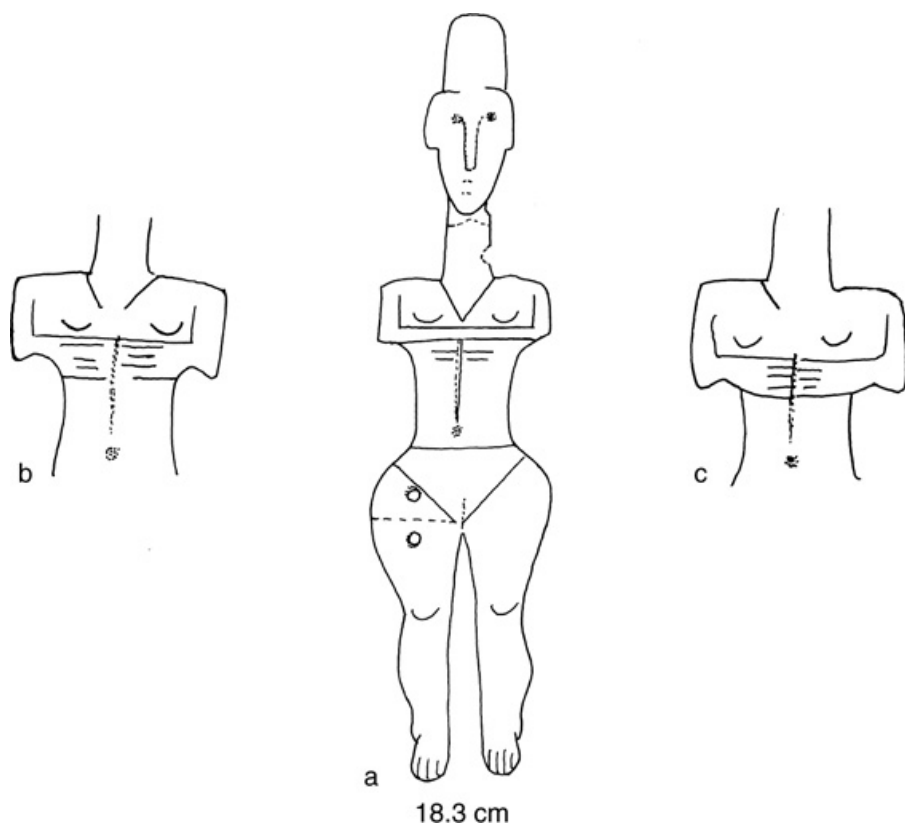


Fig. 30. A figure attributed to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor (a) with two versions of how he may have intended to show the arms (b, c), based on the work in [figure 9](#)

In [figure 30](#), next to the figure in its actual finished state (a), I show two versions of how the sculptor may have wanted the arms and upper torso to look. Not only might the elbows have pointed downward, distinguished from the forearms and hands (b), but the upper arms might have been longer, allowing the forearms to be lower and the chest area ampler (c), as on the sculptor's other works. It is worth noting that this is the smallest of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor's known images and, as such, was probably the most difficult to bring to successful completion in his usual way. If one of the elbows broke off during carving, something that could easily have happened, the entire arm rendering would have had to be rethought and reworked.

In the group of objects to which the new Plastiras figure belongs, the only other EC I sculpture is an unusually large, intact violin figure that was presumably found with it or nearby in the same cemetery. Its markings consist of a V at the top of the chest and six abdominal grooves spaced so as to occupy the entire elongated mid-section. In

the absence of a pubic triangle, the shape of the piece and the pattern of grooves identify it as a female representation. Its angular elbows point downward, and on the basis of the similarity of its outline contours to those of the Plastiras figure, it is also possible to attribute the violin figure to the hand of the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor [5]. Unfortunately, I am not free to illustrate either of these works, but eventually they will be published, and the reader will be able to judge the aptness of my remarks here.

In earlier publications I demonstrated that a small Plastiras figure and two small violin figures apparently found together were the work of one person: the Missouri Sculptor ([fig. 31](#)).¹¹⁹ Factors such as size were taken into account, but the most convincing evidence that one hand was responsible for all three is the close similarity of the contours of their shoulders, upper arms, and elbows. The middle and lower sections, however, are noticeably dissimilar. Clearly the sculptor had developed a rather angular design for his Plastiras figures—two others are known besides the one shown here—and a more curvilinear outline for his schematic works. Comparing the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor with the Missouri Sculptor, one may note that both endowed at least some of their violin figures with abdominal grooves, but not, as far as we know, their Plastiras images, the arms and hands of which may have served the same purpose.

In [figure 32a](#) I have transformed the piece in [figure 9](#) into a violin figure by following its contours exactly, except that I have allowed for a broader lower section. And, because the arms and hands are not indicated on such schematic works, I have not repeated the concave contour that separates the elbows from the forearms on the Plastiras figure. The result is a more angular elbow and, overall, contours close to those of the previously discussed violin figure that was possibly found with the new Plastiras image.

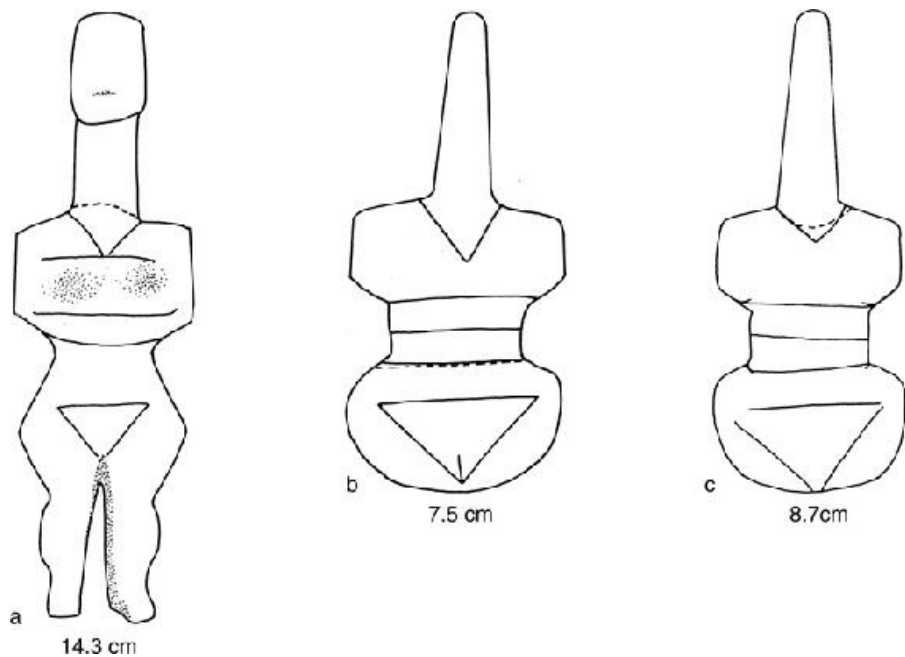


Fig. 31. A Plastiras figure and two violin figures attributable to the Missouri Sculptor

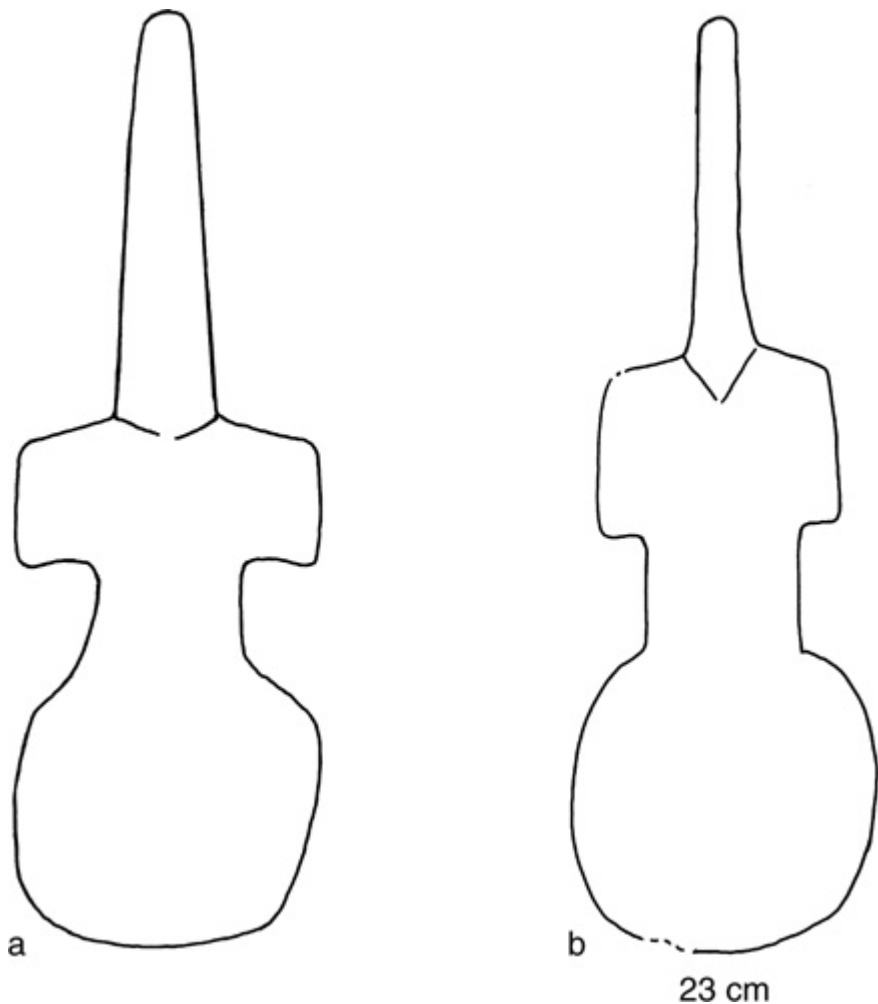


Fig. 32. A hypothetical transformation of a work attributable to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor (fig. 9) into a violin figure (a) and the violin figure in plate 7g (b)

Violin figures with even slightly lowered elbows are all but nonexistent among the several dozen known examples. Indeed, the vast majority have elbows that slope *upward*—a design convention that nicely balances the downward slope of the hips (pl. 7b–f; fig. 31b, c). In fact, I count only one further example with clearly downturned elbows (pl. 7g; fig. 32b). It, too, is large for its type, complete, and, sadly, without provenance, like all the works attributable to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor. Whether or not this figure is also the product of his hand one can probably not say at this point. More schematic examples from the same context as Plastiras images with similar contours would have to be identified for an informed determination to be made.

CHAPTER FOUR

Sculptors of Early Cycladic II Reclining Folded-Arm Figures

Of the thirteen carvers of folded-arm figures discussed in some detail and included in the checklists in *Sculptors*, nine warrant further scrutiny and discussion here. In addition, three sculptors not identified in *Sculptors* and one only mentioned there are looked at closely in this chapter.

THE KONTOLEON SCULPTOR (PLS. 24, 25, 54–57, 65*D*; CHECKLIST PP. 153, 184)

Among Kapsala figures, which are by no means as numerous as the Early Spedos, a single figure-maker stands out as both the most prolific and, in his prime, the most accomplished.¹²⁰ The Kontoleon Sculptor, most probably a Naxian, began working, I believe, just as Cycladic carvers were making the transition from a standing to a reclining posture, for among his images can be found at least one figure carved in the old, precanonical way, with feet and calves separated and with feet that are neither angled nor inclined [5]. Other works with separately carved feet and calves have feet held in a position appropriate to a reclining posture ([4]; pl. 55), while still others have feet that are joined at the ankles and heels and angled and inclined in the manner that would soon become *de rigueur* [1, 2, 3]. The sculptor seems to have been somewhat undecided as to which was the best way to carve the legs and feet. His smallest, less prepossessing, and presumably earlier works were not fashioned in the old way, as one might expect; his more mature works were not necessarily carved in the new way. The Kontoleon Sculptor seems to have vacillated. One might even suppose that he was reluctant to adopt the new fashion in which the feet were joined—that he did so chiefly on his smallest figures for reasons of safety.

A further variation is to be seen on the figure illustrated in [plate 54](#). Here the legs and feet are not separated at all, except at the very ends, and the feet are neither angled nor inclined. However, the lower limbs are oddly out of kilter and unequal in width, which suggests that the sculptor's plans had gone awry as the result of a mishap during the carving of the right side of the legs. Had he continued the median line

that runs through the nose and the cleft between the thighs, the right foot would have ended up a mere sliver. He was compelled instead to abandon any idea he might have had of separating the legs, since doing so would have drawn unwanted attention to his problem. Because the cleft between the calves and feet could not be aligned with the rest of the figure, a shallow groove had to suffice. Curiously, in the end the sculptor appears to have overcompensated by making the right calf and foot much wider than the left. From the knees up, the figure is very similar to certain other works of the Kontoleon Sculptor, as a visual comparison with the slightly larger, better-preserved figure in [plate 55](#) should confirm.

In plates 56 and 57 I have juxtaposed two partially preserved works that I believe are from the hand of the Kontoleon Sculptor.¹²¹ The first belonged to a figure that was about 30–33 cm in length, whereas the piece illustrated in [plate 57](#) was, at some 80–85 cm, nearly three times as long. It was, moreover, some 25 or 30 cm longer than the second-largest Kapsala variety figure known at present¹²² and more than 50 cm longer than the average example of its variety. That this was a special work there can be little doubt. Not only was it exceptionally large for its time, but it was carved with unusual care and flair, and polished to a high sheen that may reflect an unusual expenditure of energy and attention. However, as it is unusual for the surface of a Cycladic figure to be so well preserved, it may be that the conditions in which it was buried were themselves unusual. Of all Cycladic figures, this work also shows by far the greatest wealth of painted detail, both anatomical and “ornamental” (pl. 65d).¹²³ It is not entirely clear if the amount of added color itself was so unusual, although I expect it was—especially the painted jewelry—or, again, if it is only unusually well preserved because of some special handling, such as wrapping, prior to its final disposition.¹²⁴

Despite the disparity in size, in the level of refinement, and in the degree of complexity, and certain differences of form and proportion, the two works stand up very well to close comparison. One should note especially the crisp definition of the shoulders, the bold relief used for the relatively thick forearms, and the elongation of the abdomen. The unsightly dropped left elbow hugging the body on the smaller work appears to be an experiment that the sculptor did not repeat, and yet one can readily imagine the dropped elbow being modified into the elbow seen on the large work. There the elbows protrude slightly from the torso, as on the figures in plates 54 and 55. On the very large work, the sculptor gave both forearms a consistent (as opposed to a tapered) thickness, and yet even on that figure the arms, although parallel, are slightly slanted.

The presence of carved ears on the more elongated head, the

shorter neck, the more sensuously shaped and higher breasts, the clearly separated forearms and incised fingers, and the painted details all give the large figure an appearance quite different from the other images attributed to the Kontoleon Sculptor. Some of the sculptural differences, such as the presence of ears, the separated forearms, and the grooved fingers, can in part be tied to the unusual size of the figure; others are probably due more exclusively to its sculptor's higher level of development and possibly, too, to a heightened attentiveness because of the unusual importance of the piece.

By almost anyone's standards, and even if one could not link this image to other, lesser pieces by its sculptor, it would stand out as a masterwork, if not *the* masterwork, of its sculptor and indeed of the Kapsala variety as a whole. Clearly, this piece, which is larger and more refined than any that preceded it, did not simply *happen*. It can only have been the culmination of numerous prior efforts through which the sculptor developed his personal style and honed his carving skills. Fortunately, it is possible to recognize aspects of the process that led to the work by studying closely, as we have, some of the smaller, somewhat different but less mature sculptures that can be attributed to his hand. But what of his still smaller and earlier works?

I had already finished writing this book when the figure illustrated in [plate 24b](#) came to my attention. This small work is closely similar in a number of respects to the one shown with it (which was originally the sole occupant of pl. 24). Note especially the similarity of the overall form and contours, front and rear, and particularly the angle of the shoulders, the shape of the feet in profile, and, among details, the understated pubic area and, highly unusual on Kapsala figures, the absence of the spine. As I mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), I believe the two works are the products of one sculptor, so similar are they to each other in most respects. The new figure, with its slanted, more characteristic fingerless forearms, also bears comparison with certain works of the Kontoleon Sculptor, and, among those illustrated here, especially with the considerably larger work illustrated in [plate 54](#). Here I would call attention to the profile, singling out for special notice the contours of the foot, with its high instep (see also pl. 55), and the contours of the head and the neck, with its subtle convexity in back. This slight bulge is seen also on the image in [plate 57](#), as well as on certain other works attributed to the sculptor (e.g., [1, 2, 3, 13]; also ?[16]). It is a curious fact that both the new work and the sculptor's masterwork in [plate 57](#) show *actual* traces of blue-painted eyes in the form of almond-shaped outlines with a dotted pupil. This may be coincidental, yet other examples are extremely rare. Normally, when one can discern evidence of eyes, it is in the form of paint *ghosts*, with no pigment preserved. [125](#)

The new figure is a welcome addition to the sculptor's body of work, representing as it does a relatively early phase of his development. Also, it enables us to connect the small, spineless figure with the cleverly incised fingers to the Kontoleon Sculptor.

The signature of the Kontoleon Sculptor is perhaps more difficult to read on occasion than that of some other carvers, in part because his development may have been less straightforward, making some works appear atypical.¹²⁶ Probably, too, significant gaps remain in our record of his progress, especially with respect to the latest phases of his career. Nevertheless, if one looks at the more accessible works as a continuum, punctuated now and then with experimental efforts—in the shape of the head, the relative length of the neck, the angle of the shoulders, or the marking of the fingers—one can see that the earlier (smaller) images tend to be less refined. Their elbows are usually indicated on or very close to the body; their mid-sections are often relatively short; their pubic areas and buttocks are not well defined; and, in profile, their feet are brought further forward (see also [1]). As the figures increase in size, the elbows are more consistently made to stand out; the abdomen and also the thighs are more often elongated, the pubic area more clearly marked; and the buttocks become more shapely and are sometimes underscored by a groove that is at first horizontal (pl. 54), and then gracefully curved (pls. 55–57). At first, too, the spine was either omitted, as we now know, or it was indicated as a superficial incision that is not always straight. As the sculptor gained confidence, he experimented with a cleanly grooved spine that merges with the leg-cleft ([3, 5, 7]), but he returned to a discontinuous, albeit carefully channeled, marking on his largest work (see also pl. 55).

It may well be that the Kontoleon Sculptor, coming as he did at the folded-arm figure's inception, shows more flexibility and experimentation as he matured than other makers of this image—to the extent that his beginnings are no longer discernible in his finest work. Nevertheless, even if one cannot recognize the same hand at work in the small figures in [plate 24](#) as in the exceptionally large one in [plate 57](#), efforts such as those in plates 54–56 enable one to see the connection between them, with the result that we now have a more complete view of this talented sculptor's development.¹²⁷

THE BENT SCULPTOR (PLS. 58–59; CHECKLIST PP. 155, 185)

An apparently quite prolific Early Spedos sculptor of modest works—

none that I know measures as much as 25 cm—this carver, in complete contrast to the Kontoleon Sculptor, appears to have been remarkably consistent from piece to piece, a fact that can easily be appreciated by comparing the illustrated works. Among the salient characteristics of the Bent Sculptor's style are a wide face with a broad nose and a pointed chin; wide, crisply defined shoulders that are round only at their actual "points"; upper arms that are either quite straight or show an idiosyncratic concavity; and elbows that are carved on the body, obscuring the narrow waist, the result of a dramatic decrease in overall width from the shoulders to the elbows. Note especially the slightly dropped left elbow and the corresponding subtle tapering off of the right "hand." These works all have a brief mid-section, either straight or slightly angled thigh-tops, and a perforation of the leg-cleft that runs from the knees to the heels. On the rear, the upper arms are carved in a plane that is distinctly lower than that of flat back; the grooved spine merges with the leg-cleft; and the buttocks are indicated by a change in plane rather than by a horizontal or curving groove. The profile shows more variety than the front or rear, with some works being straighter than others. The name-piece (*b*) differs from the others in having a more sharply broken profile and in being somewhat narrower front and back.

The Bent Sculptor's figures are all stocky and strong; all have a maximum width that exceeds a quarter of their height. Fractures are few in number, and those few mostly involve the ankles. So similar are the figures attributable to this sculptor that it is difficult to discern any artistic growth or change among them, other than the differences already noted. The smallest work may seem somewhat coarser than the others, but this may in large part be due to the poorer preservation of its surface. Although his figures double in size from the smallest to the largest, all are carved in a relatively small scale.

It is conceivable that the pieces shown here represent a single phase of his career and that he went on to make larger, more ambitiously conceived sculptures not yet known or identified. It is also possible that at different times his style was different enough to render it impossible to recognize certain works as his. Yet I tend to favor the idea that the Bent Sculptor was one of very few carvers who were content to turn out virtually the same small, sturdy, tried and true product time and again for the duration of his career, which may not have been as long as some others. Given the considerable number of small Early Spedos variety Style A figures from carvers like the Cohen and Fitzwilliam Sculptors, who may have fashioned figures on a modest scale only, it is quite possible that he never worked on a larger scale.¹²⁸ His style is so similar from piece to piece, and so distinctive in the treatment of the upper torso and arms, that I rather doubt that

he would ever have made images that were so drastically different as to be unrecognizable.

The sculptor's name-piece was evidently found in J. T. Bent's excavations on Antiparos, but it is not likely to have been made there. Nothing is known of the find places of the other works attributable to the Bent Sculptor. Nevertheless, I believe he was probably a Naxian.

THE KARO SCULPTOR (PLS. 60–61; CHECKLIST P. 156)

Most probably a contemporary and a compatriot of the Bent Sculptor, the Karo Sculptor appears to have worked first in a very modest scale, to judge by the first two figures (pl. 60–61: *a*, *b*). These pieces are, in fact, not so different from the works of the Bent Sculptor. Both craftsmen favored a broad, robust image, and their work shows some very similar characteristics. Nevertheless, their treatment of the arms is quite different: instead of the straight or concave outline of the upper arms, which gives the Bent Sculptor's figures a taut, angular appearance, the upper arms of the Karo Sculptor's images are convex, which imbues them with a soft, rounded quality and makes the narrowing from shoulders to elbows less noticeable. Another small but telling point of difference is the absence in the work of the Karo Sculptor of the dropped elbow and tapered right forearm.

In the Karo Sculptor's works, one can see a progression in size from 17 cm to at least as much as about 60 cm [7],¹²⁹ although the majority of his known works were fashioned on a relatively modest scale. Even among the smaller figures, one can discern a certain amount of development or refinement of the artist's style. As the figures increase in size, for example, they tend to be more harmoniously proportioned and more elongated and slender.

Only one full figure attributable to the Karo Sculptor (*e*) was found in excavation—in Tomb 14 at Spedos on Naxos—but I believe he, too, was probably Naxian. A fragmentary seated female figure from the cemetery of Aplomata on that island could be from his hand as well.¹³⁰

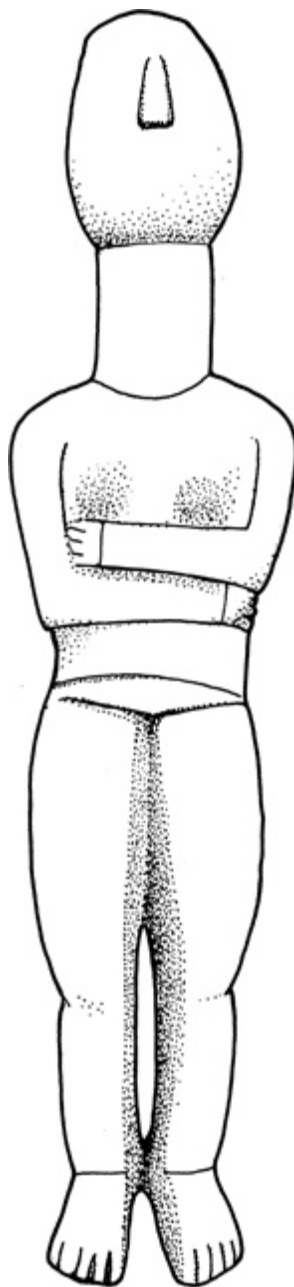
THE COPENHAGEN SCULPTOR (PLS. 62–63; CHECKLIST P. 157)

An accomplished maker of pure Style B figures, the Copenhagen Sculptor's list of known works can now be enriched by the handsome fragmentary figure shown in plates 62*b* and 63*b*. I am also now able to

illustrate a large head previously mentioned but not shown (pls. 62–63: a).¹³¹ The torso belonged to a figure of about 63 cm, which is actually not very large for its sculptor, while the head came from a *colossal* work—one measuring more than a meter, as I somewhat arbitrarily define the word. The largest known piece of the Copenhagen Sculptor (see ?[9]), it would have been roughly twice the size of his smallest known works (pl. 63c; [fig. 33](#)).

I think it makes sense to suppose that the smaller works of a figure-maker are more likely to resemble each other closely than large ones, since the latter allowed more room for unconscious variation, especially in the carving of the outline contours. And one might expect even more variation among works of widely varying large sizes, particularly if they were carved at relatively long intervals. Of the eight or nine pieces at present attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor, five are or were about 55–65 cm in length; two are or were 70–75 cm; and one or possibly two (see ?[9]) were somewhere between 105 and 112 cm long. The figure illustrated in [plate 63d](#), which now measures 70.7 cm, would have been some 85 or 86 cm long if it had been brought to completion as the sculptor had intended. Instead, he was forced, as the result of an accident, to carve rudimentary feet where the knees were to have been. Thus, among the works of this carver four different large sizes are represented, although he seems to have favored the smallest of the four.

The style of the Copenhagen Sculptor does vary somewhat from piece to piece, yet certain features are consistently similar throughout, insofar as the works are preserved. These include the distinctive pear-shaped head, with a flat nose positioned far above a chin that is unusually straight in front and rounded in profile; rather broad, crisply arched shoulders; elbows that protrude only slightly from the torso; straight, substantial forearms, with the right one finishing on the body (for an asymmetrical effect) on all except [3], where it extends as far as the left elbow; curving thigh-tops in low relief, with the top of the slightly recessed pubic area marked by a horizontal incision that is either level with the thigh-tops, as on the works illustrated in [plate 63](#), or slightly higher, as on the piece shown in [figure 33](#). In profile the figures are very straight and narrow ([fig. 17d](#)). On the rear, the arms are set in a plane lower than that of the flat back. The incised spine in some cases tapers out at the vaguely indicated buttocks and the beginning of the leg-cleft; on the others, including the new fragment, it is discontinuous.



57.2 cm

Fig. 33. A figure attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor

Looking at the profile view of the large head and imagining a straight line running along the ridge of the nose to the chin, one can see that the sculptor carved the lower part of the nose in false relief by removing a thin section of marble below it. This created a slight

concavity in the contour, which in turn helps to give the illusion of a subtle bulge in the contour of the front of the chin. The very same rendering can be found on the figure in [plate 63c](#) and two other works ([fig. 33](#); [6]).¹³² On the figure in [plate 63d](#) and another head ([5]), only the end of the nose is aligned with the chin, but the same contour can be seen on the lower face.

If one compares the new torso/thigh fragment (*b*) with the works previously attributed to the Copenhagen Sculptor, it is in most respects strikingly close in both structure and details to the figure shown in [plate 63c](#). In other ways it is more closely related to the work shown in [plate 63d](#)—specifically in the slightly greater slope of its shoulders, in the fact that the left forearm does not extend all the way to the right upper arm, and in the curious absence of incised fingers (seen on the other known works: pl. 63c and [3]), even though there was certainly enough space for them. Thus, the new piece, which was acquired long before either of the two full figures illustrated in [plate 63](#), incorporating as it does characteristics of both, offers a stylistic link between these works which, on first inspection, appear to be quite different.

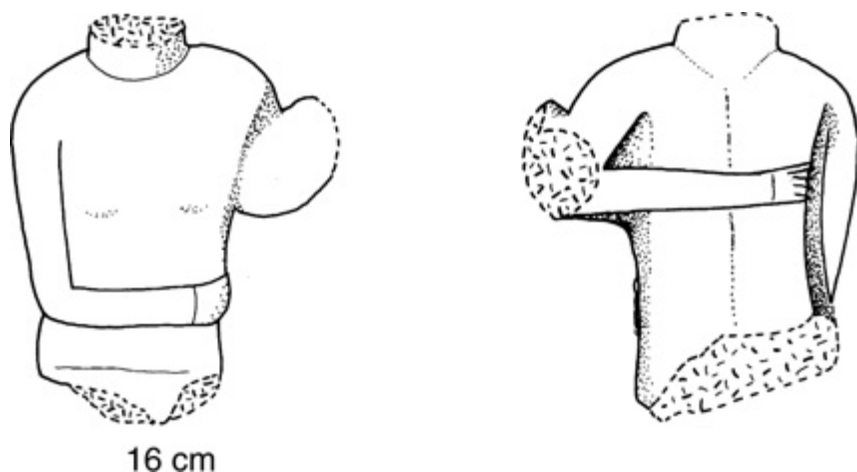


Fig. 34. A fragmentary two-figure composition possibly by the Copenhagen Sculptor

In *Sculptors* I suggested that two mature phases of the Copenhagen Sculptor's career might be represented among his known works, with the presumably later phase to be seen in the full figures in [plate 63](#), to which the new fragment can now be added. What I take to be a slightly earlier phase involved a somewhat more conventional interpretation of the general style, in that the shoulders and hips have more rounded contours ([fig. 33](#); [3]). Nevertheless, the pear-shaped head with flat nose and straight chin, and the particular contours of

the thigh-tops, for example, point clearly in the direction of the Copenhagen Sculptor's fully realized individualism, as seen in the works I take to be slightly later.

Attribution of very fragmentary works can be difficult, as mentioned (see Checklist ?[9]). This is especially true of fragments representing rarely carved special types, where ascriptions are less apt to be reliable than in the case of standard types. With that reservation, I would like to suggest the possibility that one of the fragmentary two-figure compositions is from the hand of the Copenhagen Sculptor (fig. 34). Said to have been found on Amorgos, the reputed source also of [3]—both were bought in Athens in the early 1880s—the individual figures in the composition would have measured some 55 cm, which is very large indeed for such a piece but, perhaps not coincidentally, is the same size as the smaller examples of the Copenhagen Sculptor's work. Insofar as it is preserved, its outline contours are very similar to those of his earlier efforts, on one of which wrist lines—not very common in general—are also incised (fig. 33). What is more, the horizontal line detached from the top of the thighs, seen on the fragment, is also an unusual detail present on works attributed to the same phase of the Copenhagen Sculptor's career.¹³³

The Copenhagen Sculptor, like most of the figure-makers discussed in this book, was, I believe, a Naxian, even though none of his works have been recovered in excavations on that island, and only one is said to come from there (pl. 63d). Two heads ([5, 6] and also the torso/thigh fragment ?[9]) belong to the Keros hoard—a huge group of figurative images, mostly fragmentary, said to have been found on the small island of Keros, which lies roughly midway between Naxos and Amorgos. There, at the enigmatic site now known as Kavos or Kavos/Daskaleio, similar finds in great abundance have been recovered by archaeologists, including pieces attributable to a number of the sculptors discussed in this chapter. Besides these, many of the works attributed to the sculptors treated here belong or could have belonged to the Keros hoard.¹³⁴ In addition to the two heads mentioned, it is possible that the head and the torso in plate 62 also belong to the Keros hoard, although I have no record that they do.¹³⁵ Although marble of good quality is available on Keros,¹³⁶ there is no evidence of a settlement sufficiently large to have supported large numbers of sculptors. I believe, rather, that in the Early Bronze Age Keros served as a satellite of Naxos and that figures found there (as well as on Amorgos) are likely to have been made on Naxos or at least by Naxian sculptors.¹³⁷ Recently, the name-piece of the Copenhagen Sculptor [3], said to have been found on Amorgos, as mentioned (but quite possibly recovered on Keros), has been subjected to stable isotope analysis, revealing the likely source of its marble to be

THE KARLSRUHE/WOODNER SCULPTOR (PLS. 64, 65A–C, 66; CHECKLIST P. 158)

My first knowledge of the figure in [plate 64c](#) came from a poor photocopy of a small photograph in the international edition of the *Herald Tribune* of 18 January 1986. Details were blurred, but the outline contours, even in three-quarter view, were immediately recognizable to me. Not long before, I had identified *a* and *b* as the work of an artist I called the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor.[139](#) To me, at least, the new sculpture, which is larger than the other two by half a meter, was clearly from his hand as well. It was subsequently published by Doumas and Renfrew, who did not make the connection.[140](#) Although in 1987 I attributed the new work to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor,[141](#) this is the first opportunity I have had to illustrate the three figures side by side. It is extremely important to be able to do this and, moreover, to be able to show them in one size for accurate and instructive comparison. The left lower leg of *c*, separated from the rest of the figure shortly after it was found, was recently recovered; it now replaces the plaster leg that had given the image a pigeon-toed appearance. New photographs taken with the original leg in place are provided here.[142](#)

As indicated, the three works are carved in two very different sizes: the first measures 86.8 cm, and the second 89.0 cm, while the third is 140.0 cm long. Yet despite the obvious but largely explicable differences among the three works, their outline contours and certain internal details are unmistakably alike. I would urge the reader to look very carefully at the photographs and to compare and contrast every contour and every detail of the three pieces. The overall impression to be gained, I believe, is that a single sculptor was involved—one who can be seen to develop and refine his style from one work to the next.

Typical Spedos Style B characteristics of the three works (shared, for example, with the Copenhagen Sculptor), are the conservative outline, the straight and narrow profile, the relatively thick arms, and a pubic area slightly recessed between subtly curved thigh-tops. The sculptor's personal interpretation of the general style includes, first of all, a quite distinctive head. This is nearly U-shaped in front, with broad cheeks and a broad, curving chin that is very shallow in profile, and a long prominent nose similarly positioned on all three works. On the two smaller figures, the head tapers very slightly toward the top; it

tapers in profile as well, terminating in a sharp edge rather than the characteristic flat, oval area at the back, created by the backward turn or tilt of the head near the top. These works also have very flat faces, with flat noses reminiscent of works by the Copenhagen Sculptor. While one can discern a very slight development in the head of *b* from the dead-straight profile of *a*, the third figure has a much more refined head with a subtle lyre effect: it narrows at the temples and then widens slightly again at the top. In profile, its nose is more pronounced, and there is a slight backward bend at the top that ends in a flat area on the rear. Comparing the head of this sculpture with that of the Kontoleon Sculptor's masterwork shown next to it (pl. 65*d*), one cannot help but notice a strong resemblance and wonder if there could have been a connection. If I am right, the elegant head of that work, too, represents the culmination of the Kontoleon Sculptor's ongoing efforts to carve a finer head than he had ever carved before. It stands to reason that on their exceptionally large works, sculptors would have been motivated to make a special effort.

The most obvious similarity among the three works, and one which may have prompted me unconsciously to make the comparison with the Kontoleon Sculptor's figure, is the presence of carved ears. Here, too, one can see a development from the relatively amorphous ears of *a* to the more delicately shaped ears of *b*, and from these to the similarly shaped but subtly hollowed ears of *c*. In all three pairs of ears, however, the right one is noticeably lower than the left!

The heads were presumably also similarly painted. On *a* those areas of the marble skin that were not protected by paint have largely weathered away, leaving clear ghosts in the form of raised lines, dots, and smooth, solid areas. Thus, the once-painted blue eyes with their dotted pupils and brows are clearly visible on *a*—again, with the right noticeably lower than the left—and at least the left eye and brow are obvious on *b*. All three figures have vestiges of a solid band across the forehead and a solid mass of once-painted blue hair on the rear. That of *a* is so clear that little tail-like curls can be seen at the corners on the neck.¹⁴³ There is also some indication in the form of paint ghosts that all three figures had a broad, solid, blue-painted pubic triangle bounded below by the raised thighs, which are more horizontal on *c* than on the two smaller sculptures.

The arms are treated very much alike on all three works. They are rendered in clear relief, and their left hands widen slightly and have boldly grooved fingers. From the front, the right hand in each case seems to clasp the body, but the fingers do not continue onto the sides. On *b* and *c* the end of the right hand widens and curves in virtually identical fashion, while that of *a* is straighter. The way the distinction is made between the left elbow and the right hand, perhaps

best seen in rear view, provides an excellent, if subtle, example of how the sculptor progressed from piece to piece: on *a* the distinction is made by means of a simple shift in contour; on *b* there is a very slight indentation between elbow and hand; while on *c* there is a bolder indentation in the form of a small notch in the outline contour. By making the distinction at all, the sculptor maintained a slightly asymmetrical effect.

One might also look briefly at the feet. Each of the works has a right foot that is intact or, in the case of *b*, very nearly so. Allowing for differences of relative width, to be discussed below, their form is closely similar in front view; in profile they are virtually identical. This close resemblance reflects the undeniable stamp of a single individual who tended out of habit to follow a set pattern, unless (as in the elbow/hand distinction, apparently) he was trying to improve on an earlier rendering of a contour or a detail, or compensate for accidental damage. And he would do so regardless of the size of the work being fashioned. Given that the feet were to point downward and outward, and given that the profile was to be straight and narrow, he interpreted the conventions of the general style in his own way. The Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor's small feet are quite similar to those of the Copenhagen Sculptor (pl. 63c), for example. And yet on close inspection they do differ: viewed in profile, both tops and soles are angled differently, and the ends are abrupt rather than rounded; moreover, the ankle grooves end well above the heels rather than being oriented toward them, as on the Copenhagen Sculptor's work. Carvers in close contact with each other's efforts, as one can readily imagine the Karlsruhe/Woodner and Copenhagen Sculptors were, are not likely to have adopted or to have unconsciously assimilated into their own styles the exact way that another rendered his contours. The more straightforward marking of internal details, on the other hand, might, in theory at least, have been more open to imitation.

Before leaving the subject of feet, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the newly reattached original left foot of *c* is quite different from its right foot: seen in front view, it is wider; it is shorter at the third, fourth, and fifth toes; and the ends of those toes are more clearly distinguished from one another by means of little notches. I cannot help but wonder if the sculptor did not encounter some difficulty due to accidental chipping in that area. Unfortunately, the right foot of *b* is missing, while that of *a* is damaged at the end of the last two toes, making full comparison impossible. Nevertheless, the left foot of *a* also appears to be wider than the right one by about 4 mm.

In some respects, such as the shape of the head and the straightness of the profile, the two smaller works of the Karlsruhe/Woodner

Sculptor are closer to each other than either is to the largest. Yet in other respects *b* and *c* are obviously more alike. Compare, for example, their longer necks and the fact that neither has the low-slung, curving neck groove seen on *a*. Having carved that work with a short neck, the sculptor then sought to lengthen it by illusion—that is, by lowering the neckline. Compare, too, the greater slope (and inequality) of the shoulders of *b* and *c*, and the shape and inequality of their breasts. I suspect that the curious teardrop form of the breasts of *a* resulted from accidental damage to one of them, which necessitated the reduction of both in order to give them the same shape.

The most significant point of similarity, however, is the relative narrowness of *b* and *c*. Their maximum shoulder-width is about one-fifth of their length, as compared with a quarter for *a*. This is normal for Spedos variety figures of average length, which of course *a* far exceeds. As I have noted in earlier publications, Cycladic figures tend to become proportionally narrower with increased length. There were probably aesthetic considerations at work, but undoubtedly practical constraints dictated a slimmer image that would have weighed less, making it easier to carry.¹⁴⁴ The reduced width would also have made a very large work easier to hold, both for a bearer and for the sculptor as he worked on it. A comparison with other very large and outsize works suggests that the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor's figures are somewhat broader, proportionally, than those of his contemporaries who worked on a very large scale.¹⁴⁵

As noted in the discussion above, there are subtle refinements on the nearly lifesize figure not present on the other two works attributed to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor. The more developed head, the more voluptuous breasts, the subtler rendering of the thigh-tops and the spine, and a greater harmony in the longitudinal proportions are just the sort of refinements one might expect from a sculptor who had gained the necessary experience by carving figures like *a* and *b*, which exhibit all the essential ingredients of a well-developed style. It seems only logical to suppose that figure *b*, which is very nearly the same length as *a* but has nearly the same proportions as *c*, and which moreover has some features in common with *a* but others in common with *c* (although it alone shows wrist grooves), was carved at a point in time and at a level of development between the two.

Clearly, very large and colossal figures would have been far more time-consuming to produce than the much smaller works carved by the majority of EC sculptors. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that a figure-maker who consistently or frequently worked on a large scale would have made considerably fewer pieces during his career than a sculptor of ordinary ones. Still, limited though his output may have been, the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor surely must have made

more than the three figures known at present. It is quite possible that smaller works from his hand will one day be found. I very much doubt that figure *a* represents the earliest phase of his career, when he was most likely to have carved on a smaller scale. Even so, this sculptor appears to have relished working in a size that was far greater than that of most other sculptors: what appears to have been relatively small for him was far larger than their largest pieces.

I would also hazard a guess that the largest known figure of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor was the first (if not the only) work he fashioned on such a monumental scale. I say this because, for all that it is highly accomplished and sophisticated, on one level the marble seems to have got away from the carver to a far greater degree than on his smaller images. If one draws a straight line through the front of the figure, using the leg-cleft as the median, it becomes obvious that the head, neck, and upper torso are very much out of kilter with the lower part of the work. The head is slightly turned to the right—a perception intensified by the crookedness of the very much off-center nose and the fact that the right ear is rendered all but invisible from the front because it is set further back than the left one. While the head turns to the right, the hips and thighs appear to twist to the left because of the greater width of the right thigh and the greater prominence of the left hip. In distinct contrast, the median line of *a* runs midway between the breasts and up through the middle of the nose; on *b*, the same is true, except that the breasts are not equidistant from the median, and one also senses a slight asymmetry through the hips. Total alignment along a median axis was, I believe, what the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, and indeed all Cycladic sculptors, aimed for, whether or not they did so assiduously or even in all cases consciously, and whether or not they achieved it or came close to achieving it.¹⁴⁶ As mentioned earlier, the sort of disparities that are especially pronounced on *c* may relieve what we perceive as a stiff and static quality inherent in EC figurative sculpture, but it is unlikely that they were intended.¹⁴⁷ On the contrary, much of the power of the images comes from their uncompromising, unrelieved directness.

The three works are at present the second-, fourth-, and fifth-largest EC figures whose entire length is preserved. A number of fragmentary pieces, including those in plates 28, 57, 62*a*, 97, and 98, also belonged to exceptionally large or colossal images.¹⁴⁸ The Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor was evidently a member of a group of unusually keen and energetic artists who lived and worked around the same time and were in contact with one another's work, either as contemporaries or through the overlapping of careers: of fathers and sons, for example. This small group of craftsmen, which included the Copenhagen Sculptor, made Early Spedos Style B figures, and evidently each one

preferred to carve on an unusually large scale from the beginning, progressing eventually to a quite monumental format. Possibly, these sculptors had found a new method of hewing large slabs of marble; possibly, they had developed new ways of carving the recalcitrant stone, causing them to celebrate their innovations by working on a grand scale. One can easily imagine a competitiveness among them that spurred them on to make ever-larger images.

Renfrew has made much of the fact that some of these very large works have carved ears, in contrast to smaller folded-arm figures which do not, and he sees in this a clue to the possible identity of the very large and colossal figures as cult statues.¹⁴⁹ Renfrew himself points out the obvious objection: not all extremely large works have ears. Yet if they were important in some way, if only to set the large images apart from the smaller ones deposited in graves, one must ask why ears were not carved, or at least painted, on *all* such pieces. Of the sixteen accessibly published, readily acceptable oversized works—those which measure or once measured 80–85 cm or more—of which at least the head is preserved, ten do not have ears; and of the six that do, three, as we have seen, are attributable to the same carver.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, on all six examples the ears are either invisible or only barely visible from the front—the figures' most important aspect. If the ears had a special significance, one would expect them to be more prominent. Thus, whether or not some of the exceptionally large works were used as cult statues, it is clearly doubtful that cult status had anything to do with the presence of ears on a small number of them. Rather, I believe that carving ears (like size) was simply a matter of personal preference on the part of some sculptors. Given that human beings have ears, it should seem more peculiar that so many EC II figures do not have them than that a very few do.

Those sculptors who chose to carve ears may have been prompted by one or two factors. The amount of space provided by the larger heads would have suggested the reasonableness of, and perhaps even the need for, ears, particularly in cases where the head was quite thick in profile. One should also consider the recent tradition of carving ears: they are nearly always present on Plastiras figures, with their full complement of facial features, and some sculptors of precanonical figures continued the practice (pls. 11, 15, 17, 21; [fig. 19](#)). Although the trend lost its hold with the streamlining of the new folded-arm image, a few early EC II sculptors, including the Kontoleon Sculptor and some Early Spedos Style B carvers, nevertheless chose to keep it alive. The close resemblance of the head of figure c to the masterwork of the Kontoleon Sculptor, discussed above, suggests to me that there was a very real connection through two or three generations of sculptors, from the precanonical (when ears took on a more earlike

shape than before) through to the group whose members are likely to have been among the earliest Spedos sculptors. If, as Renfrew believes, the largest figures were designed to serve as cult statues, one must wonder why succeeding generations did not continue to make works that exceeded a meter in length. And if ears were synonymous with cult use, why did they not continue to be carved on the largest works the later sculptors produced?

It is odd that three works of the same sculptor should be among the five best-preserved of the largest figures, since a number of sculptors carved such pieces. The explanation may have to do with the real possibility that all three were recovered from the same site, namely that of Kavos on Keros. Figure *a* is said, quite plausibly, to have been found there; figure *c* almost certainly was, while figure *b* is said to come from Naxos.¹⁵¹ Many examples of the work of other sculptors have been recovered on Keros by archaeologists and, it is thought with good reason, by illicit diggers. However, most of those works are now fragmentary. It seems necessary to wonder, therefore, if certain works were not accorded what we might consider greater respect or deposited and preserved under unusually favorable conditions, or both.¹⁵² All three figures of our sculptor had sustained fractures by the time they were found, but it is not certain that they were all deposited in a broken state. Earth tremors may have taken their toll. The two sculptures that complete the group of five were also found broken into several pieces, although the largest is said to have been found in a grave, deliberately broken to make it fit.¹⁵³ Figure *c* is said to have been found in a cave, where presumably there was no practical need to break it into smaller pieces.

Another possible or partial explanation for the better preservation of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor's figures is that, being broader and less attenuated, they may have been sturdier and more resistant to accidental fracture than the very large works of some other sculptors. Yet the fact that there are more fragments of extremely large sculptures than entire ones does make one wonder if some form of ritual breakage and dispersal of parts was practiced under certain circumstances. If only the heads of such images had been found, one might postulate that, just as the skull was considered the most important part of the skeleton and was sometimes kept in a grave after the rest had been swept aside, so the head of a huge figure would be preserved, the rest disposed of, after the death of its owner. But the fact remains that the torsos and legs of some of these sculptures are the only parts that seem to have survived.

Three figures representing what I regard as early, middle, and fully mature phases of one craftsman are illustrated here in the same size, although the first is less than half the length of the second and only slightly more than one-third the length of the largest one. At 21.3 cm, the figure in [plate 67a](#) is the smallest known image at present attributable to the Steiner Sculptor.¹⁵⁴ I had earlier ascribed the work to his hand on the basis of a diminutive front-view photograph;¹⁵⁵ recently it has resurfaced, and I have been able to study it, with the result that I am now fully satisfied with the attribution. By carefully comparing the photographs, the reader will be able to decide if such confidence is warranted, bearing in mind that three levels of refinement are represented. Thus, for example, the smallest figure has a shorter mid-section than the other two, and the leg-cleft is, relatively speaking, more broadly grooved. (It also lacks fingers because there was not enough space for them.) Moreover, in the three works one can see the carver experimenting with somewhat different ways of reconciling the end of the right hand with the left elbow. Looking at the feet, one should note that the ankle grooves on the early and middle figures are oriented toward the soles, while those of the most mature work slant, less dramatically, toward the heels.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, on the rear the buttock groove is straight, whereas on the fully mature work this line is gracefully carved (although unfortunately not visible in pl. 67c3).¹⁵⁷

The Steiner Sculptor carved sturdy, robust figures in the style of the Late Spedos variety, which differs from the Early Spedos Style B approach in having a quite different rendering of the pubic area: instead of slightly raised thigh-tops, the inguinal lines are incised below (and often attached to) a horizontal groove that usually crosses all or most of the abdomen. On the Steiner Sculptor's early figure, the pubic area is slightly recessed, and the horizontal line is short and hesitant, which suggests that the artist was still under the influence of the earlier style.¹⁵⁸ On the next work, the gracefully curved abdominal line is drawn with a sure hand, and the groin lines are superficially incised to form the flat pubic triangle characteristic of the Steiner Sculptor's middle and mature phases, and of the Late Spedos style generally.

The Steiner Sculptor's personal style and development bear comparison with those of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, which I take to mean that there was not much of a chronological gap between them. Note, in particular, the similarly straight profiles and the shape of the head, and the absence of any noticeable backward bend on all but the most advanced work of each artist.

The most noteworthy difference between the two sculptors, and between the Style B and Late Spedos sculptors generally, is one of size.

The largest and finest work of the Steiner Sculptor is, at 59.9 cm, considerably less than half the length of the largest work attributable to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor. Both have a maximum width of about one-fifth of the length, whereas on their smaller pieces the width is one-quarter. The masterwork of the Steiner Sculptor shows none of the disparities in the essential bilateral symmetry of the basic forms and the rendering of details along a central axis seen, for example, on the works of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, especially the largest one. The Steiner Sculptor and other Late Spedos artists may have considered carving on a colossal scale too fraught with problems. For the Steiner Sculptor, at least, 60 cm proved to be the perfect size in which to achieve a monumental effect while maintaining near-perfect balance. Other Late Spedos sculptors on occasion carved works that were somewhat larger, but none seem to have attempted images measuring a meter or more.

THE RODGERS SCULPTOR (PL. 68; CHECKLIST PP. 159, 185)

I first became aware of the figure in [plate 68a](#) in 1986, and at that time I ascribed it tentatively to an early phase of the Steiner Sculptor's career, even though I admitted that "it does not closely resemble other figures thought to be the result of his less mature efforts."¹⁵⁹ I suppose I believed it might be earlier than any of the works I had attributed to him with confidence. When, five years later, I saw figure *b*, I knew I had made a mistake—the work belongs, rather, to the hand of another artist whose style was in some ways quite similar to that of the Steiner Sculptor, as a comparison of the works in plates 67 and 68 should make clear.

While it can be very difficult to attribute to one sculptor two works representing opposite ends of his career, and in most cases one might not even think of doing so, the recognition of a piece that lies developmentally somewhere between them usually provides the link necessary to connect them. This is exactly what happened when I first saw figure *b*: I immediately realized that it was by the same hand as both the much smaller and plainly far less competent sculpture (*a*) and the much larger and more refined one (*c*).

The three works now attributed to the Rodgers Sculptor share a common, albeit evolving, style. Each has the same basic combination of large, elongated head and short, thick neck. The head of *b* is very slightly lyre-shaped on top, a refinement lacking on *a* but beautifully articulated on *c*. All three have a rather compressed chest and a brief

mid-section, and the arms are treated in the same way, seemingly pushing up the breasts, with the right hand extending as far as the left elbow, as on figure *b* of the Steiner Sculptor (pl. 67). The pubic triangle, rendered solely by incision, is prominent and executed with increasing precision as the works increase in size. Although the pubic area is treated in the manner characteristic of the Late Spedos variety, the leg-cleft, atypically, is perforated. Yet in each case the perforation is unusually short—short enough to be considered vestigial.

Certain features are shared by figures *a* and *b*, such as the particular slope of the shoulders and the fact that the feet were carved separately to the heels, in contrast to those of *c*, on which only the very ends are separated by a small notch in the extended cleft. On the rear, *a* and *b* show a short, perfunctory buttock groove. This is missing on *c*. Figures *b* and *c*, on the other hand, but not *a*, have superficially marked wrist grooves not clearly visible in the illustrations.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, *b* stands midway between *a* and *c* in its overall impact and level of competence, with *c* no longer showing any trace of the awkwardness of the early work, although its forearms are oddly wavy.¹⁶¹

The earliest figure had a length originally of 43–44 cm,¹⁶² and its maximum width was probably about 26 percent of its length. Figure *b* is some 10 cm longer and is only very slightly narrower in proportion to its length. Figure *c* measures 74 cm and has a width that is about 21 percent of its length, although it gives the impression of being narrower.

Figures *a* and *b*, which I suspect came from the same original source—they are similarly encrusted—were acquired, three years apart, from the same antiquities dealer (now deceased). For none of the works is a find-place given, yet the closest parallels would seem to point to Naxos.¹⁶³

THE NAXOS MUSEUM SCULPTOR (PLS. 69–70; CHECKLIST PP. 159, 185)

At least a dozen complete figures can now be attributed to the Naxos Museum Sculptor, one of the most independent-minded carvers of Late Spedos images and apparently one of the most prolific. To me, this craftsman is of particular interest because many stages of his development are observable in his numerous surviving works, and because from what I take to be a quite unpromising start, represented by a lumpy figure of only 18 cm [1], he perfected an approach that enabled him to fashion impressive works on a large (fig. 35a; [20]) and an unusually large scale. His longest complete work is four times

the length of his smallest known piece ([fig. 35b](#)), and there are fragments of two figures that were close to five times as large ([fig. 35c](#); [19]). Because his works have been recovered by archaeologists from three Naxian cemeteries, we can be reasonably certain that he lived and worked on Naxos.

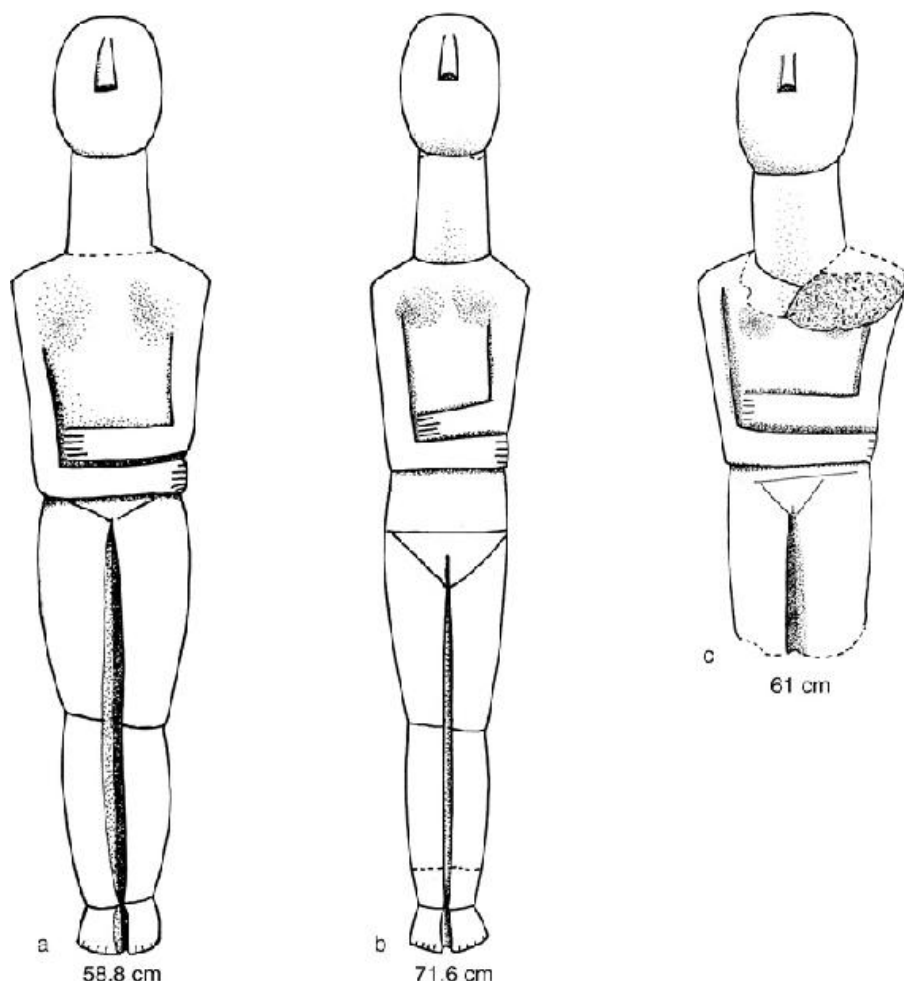


Fig. 35. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to mature phases of the Naxos Museum Sculptor

Among the pieces that have come to my attention in the last few years are a figure preserved to the knees ([pl. 69b](#)) and a complete figure ([pl. 69d](#)).¹⁶⁴ These images, which I would assign to middle phases of the sculptor's career—the phases I shall concentrate on here—are fully representative of his idiosyncratic style and set the stage for his largest efforts.¹⁶⁵

From its humblest beginnings, the Naxos Museum Sculptor's work is easy to recognize. His figures are stiffer in appearance than those of

most other sculptors, in part because of the conservative outline, on which there is little interplay of curves and little variation in width below the shoulders. The head, which narrowed somewhat as the sculptor developed, tends to have the nose positioned high on the broad-cheeked, oval face; the neck, which becomes proportionately longer as his figures become longer and narrower, is always generous in length; the breasts are invariably generalized, rather masculine-looking swellings;¹⁶⁶ the arms, with elbows close to the body, are disproportionately thick, and the right one extends as far as the left elbow, as in the three works of the Rodgers Sculptor. On all but two of his currently known works (fig. 35a, b), there is no differentiation whatever along the outline of the elbow and hand, making it possible for the right hand to become the left elbow on the rear.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps the most strikingly unusual aspect of the sculptor's style, not seen again until the Chalandriani variety, is the absence or near-absence of a visible mid-section: either the right forearm forms the top of the pubic triangle (pl. 69c, d) or, when an abdominal line is present, it is directly beneath the right arm (pl. 69a). With one possible exception (see Checklist: note), only one of his largest figures, and the most attenuated of his known works, was given a quite normal mid-section (fig. 35b).¹⁶⁸

To compensate for the obscured abdomen, the sculptor elongated the upper torso and upper arms and thickened the forearms, which clearly take on any importance the belly might have had. Below the arms, the legs and feet were conceived as a single form bisected by the leg-cleft and punctuated at intervals by encircling grooves, which have the appearance of tight cords that cause the forms above and below to appear puffy from the constriction. Profile and rear views give the same impression. On the rear, the top and base of the neck are indicated by similar continuous horizontal grooves rather than by the more characteristic oblique ones. On some of his smaller works, the horizontal grooves on the legs seem to have been added before the wedgelike cutting of the cleft was made, especially on the rear, so that the cleft is broken up into separate sections rather than being continuous (pl. 70a2, d2). Another somewhat unusual aspect of the Naxos Museum Sculptor's style can be seen in the extension of the leg-cleft to the end of the small, rounded feet, with only a slight notch taken out of the very end on most of his works. A few very early ones do not even have this notch [3, 17].¹⁶⁹ Although this joining of the feet occurs, for example, on the largest of the Rodgers Sculptor's figures, it is atypical of Late Spedos images, and yet it was to become quite common among figures of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties, either as a strengthening measure or a labor-saving or riskavoidance device. One might note, too, the way the sculptor makes

an abrupt transition from the flat plane of the back to that of the thighs to create the shelflike buttocks. This, too, is somewhat reminiscent of later styles.

In some respects the figure in [plate 69a](#) is more “normal-looking” than many other works attributable to the Naxos Museum Sculptor’s hand. Its shoulders are broader, its contours are more curvaceous, and the feet are angled in a more characteristic fashion. In profile the figure shows a more pronounced backward bend at the top of the head and flexion of the hips and knees. But rather than continuing in this vein, the sculptor’s individual bent appears to have asserted itself more and more. On figure *b*, a similar bend of the head and a similarly prominent chin are observable, but the flexion is gone from the hips. On figure *d*, the backward bend of the head is less pronounced, and the chin, although well defined, is not as deep; there is no flexion of the legs. And finally, on *c*, the profile is straight throughout and the chin is shallow—characteristics found on all the presumably later and larger works. Looking at the back of the four works, one notes that the spine is clearly incised on *a* and superficially incised on *b*, whereas on *c* and *d*, and most of the sculptor’s works, it is treated as a relatively broad depression. Only on some of his largest images is the spine rendered as a distinct, channel-like groove [10, 19].

The Naxos Museum Sculptor could be quite cursory—even lazy—in the execution of details. figure *b* provides an especially graphic example. As on many of his works, the inner line of the right upper arm does not extend upward to match the left, and on the back he evidently forgot to mark the inner line of the upper arm either by a change of plane or by a groove (or both), as he normally did. Of particular interest is the fact that the leg-cleft of *b* begins well below the apex of the pubic triangle rather than at or near it, as on most of the works of other sculptors. Instead of making the cleft begin as a single groove that gradually widens, as the Steiner Sculptor did more (pl. 67c) or less (pl. 67b) successfully on at least two of his works, for example, the Naxos Museum Sculptor simply connected the top of the cleft to the apex by means of a perfunctory, unrelated incision. Similarly, a short line acts as a connector on other works [9, 13]. Had he chosen to continue the leg-cleft to meet the pubic triangle on *b*, his failure to center it properly would have been more noticeable than it is with the slightly crooked connecting line.

The Naxos Museum Sculptor was also not overly concerned about delineating the fingers either carefully or in the correct number. Instead of taking the time to make a more concerted effort, he broke the bonds of convention by using another facile device, again foreshadowing the sculptors of the later varieties, who did not always incise their fingers within specific boundaries (e.g., pls. 47a, 49). On

some of his smaller works, where the space allotted to the hands was not always adequate for the incision of five fingers in any case, he added an extra digit on the chest, either by bold incision or, more tentatively, as a superficial scratch. On figure *a* three fingers of the left hand are incised *on* the hand, but the top of the fourth digit is superficially indicated on the chest. On *b*, *c*, and *d*, four fingers are incised in the usual way, while the thumb is added on the body. For the right hand, the sculptor at times foresaw that there would be insufficient space for the fingers if he divided the space allotted to the forearms equally, and so he simply usurped a portion of what normally would have been the left arm to allow for extra thickness for the right hand beneath it. This he did in almost identical fashion on figures *c* and *d*, whereas on *a* and *b* he made no attempt at adjustment, with the result that these works have only three fingers on the right hand. Even on the sculptor's most mature images (fig. 35*a*, *b*), on which, because of their size, there was enough space for the correct number of fingers, there is a slight widening of the right hand that is clearly reminiscent of his earlier efforts, yet more subtle in execution.¹⁷⁰

Figures *a* and *b* belong, I believe, to a slightly earlier phase of the sculptor's development than *c* and *d*, which are closely similar to each other, except that *c* has a broader head and is somewhat less evenly proportioned through the lower half than *d*; it is also twice the size of *d*.¹⁷¹ The very slight concave outline of the upper arms on both these works, as well as the slight narrowing toward the top of the head of *d*, presages more advanced stages in which the figures are larger, have a narrower head, and are proportionately as narrow or narrower through the shoulders and more elongated (fig. 35; [7, 8]).

THE GOULANDRIS SCULPTOR (PLS. 71–76; CHECKLIST ON P. 161)

As the corpus of Cycladic figures grows, through excavation, clandestine activity, and the uncovering of objects long in private collections, the body of work attributable to one artist also continues to grow, firmly sustaining his position as the most prolific, by far, of all EC sculptors. At present I count fifteen complete or very nearly complete figures as well as more than one hundred individual fragments and fragmentary works consisting of two joined pieces (e.g., pl. 72*c*, *d*) that I believe can be confidently attributed to the distinctive hand of the Goulandris Sculptor. Most of these pieces are included in the totals in figure 36; others are mentioned at the end of

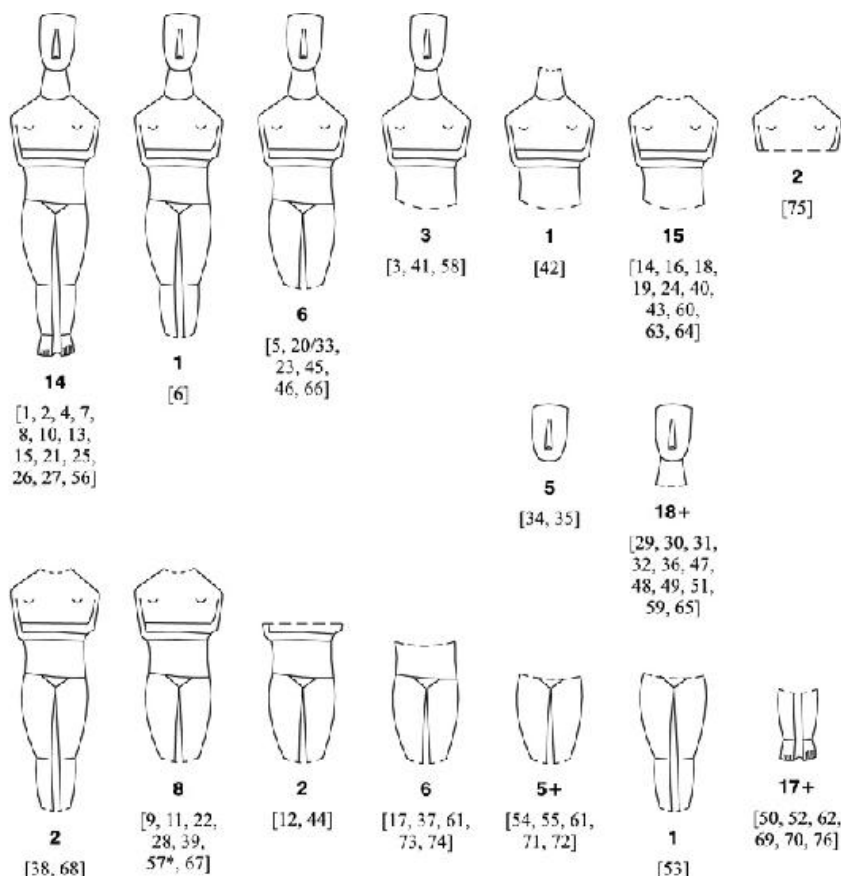
the Checklist.

Among the many fragments, there are almost certainly some that join; others are likely to be nonadjacent pieces from the same sculptures. Such associations are rarely recognized, unfortunately, because of the practical difficulties involved. To find the adjoining pieces, one would need, ideally, to assemble all the fragments in one place. Alternatively, one could make casts and bring those together. To find nonadjoining matches, the best approach currently available is isotopic analysis—a costly and (minimally) invasive method. However, because two figures might be made of very similar marble,¹⁷² as we shall see, isotopic analysis, while useful for confirming the correctness of a join,¹⁷³ is not the perfect approach. In any case, the works of the Goulandris Sculptor are by now too widely dispersed, the current “custodians” of many of them unknown, for any comprehensive examination of his fragmentary images ever to be viable, but in one recent smallscale study, involving only nine fragments, a head/neck [33] and a torso [20] from different collections were reunited.¹⁷⁴ If a join could be found among only nine pieces brought together from eight different collections (although eight very likely come from the same place), one can only imagine what the success rate might be if many times that number could be studied. On the basis of appropriateness of size, there is a very real possibility that among the fragments inventoried in the Checklist (and cited in [fig. 36](#)), there are numerous matches to be made, adjoining and nonadjoining alike. It would be especially useful to know if any of the sculptor’s pieces found by archaeologists on Keros join any of the many fragments from his hand that belong to the Keros hoard—that is, most of those outside Greece—because that would constitute proof that the hoard was indeed found on Keros.¹⁷⁵ The fact that whole figures have been correctly reassembled from the hoard fragments suggests to me that if we had the complete yield of the site where they were collected, hypothetically all the fragments could be reassembled into whole figures.

It seems clear, then, that although there are a hundred-odd fragments of works by the Goulandris Sculptor, we do not have evidence of a hundred *different* works to add to the fifteen very well preserved sculptures. However, among all the sculptures known to me—complete and fragmentary—I calculate that sixty images, at the very least, are represented.¹⁷⁶ Fifty of these are inventoried in the Checklist; these and five others for which I have dimensions are shown by size in [chart A](#).

Rounded off to the nearest centimeter, the fifteen best-preserved works of the Goulandris Sculptor are or were 16, 33, 34 (two examples), 35 (two examples), 38, 39, 42, 46, 54 (two examples), 60,

62 and 63 cm in length. Because the sculptor was quite consistent in his use of certain proportions, it has been possible, within a rather narrow margin of variation in most cases, to estimate the original size of the works now represented by fragments.¹⁷⁷ Thus, one can form a clear idea of his preferences and of the role of size in his work. We know, for example, that he carved his images in a wide range of sizes and that he did not often repeat himself. When he did, it was most probably not deliberate.



Key: bold number indicates total number of pieces known to the author.

* assumes head does not belong.

Note that each of the fragments does not necessarily belong to a different figure.

Fig. 36. The extent of preservation ($\pm$) of works attributable to the Goulondris Sculptor

Looking at [chart B](#), one can see that only on medium-sized works did the Goulondris Sculptor begin occasionally to carve the forearms separately and in distinct relief; only then were the figures large enough for fingers to be added. Indeed, the smallest known work with incised fingers had an estimated length of only 37 cm. Only the

fingers of the right hand are visible. Those of the left were probably more superficially indicated, with the result that they have weathered away (pl. 73a). Given the narrowness of the bandlike arms the sculptor favored, the reason for their original shallowness probably has to do with the cramped space available for fingers on a work of less than 40 cm. This is in fact the sculptor's only figure with incised fingers that does not also show forearm separation, which suggests to me that it was perhaps also among his first attempts at indicating the fingers.

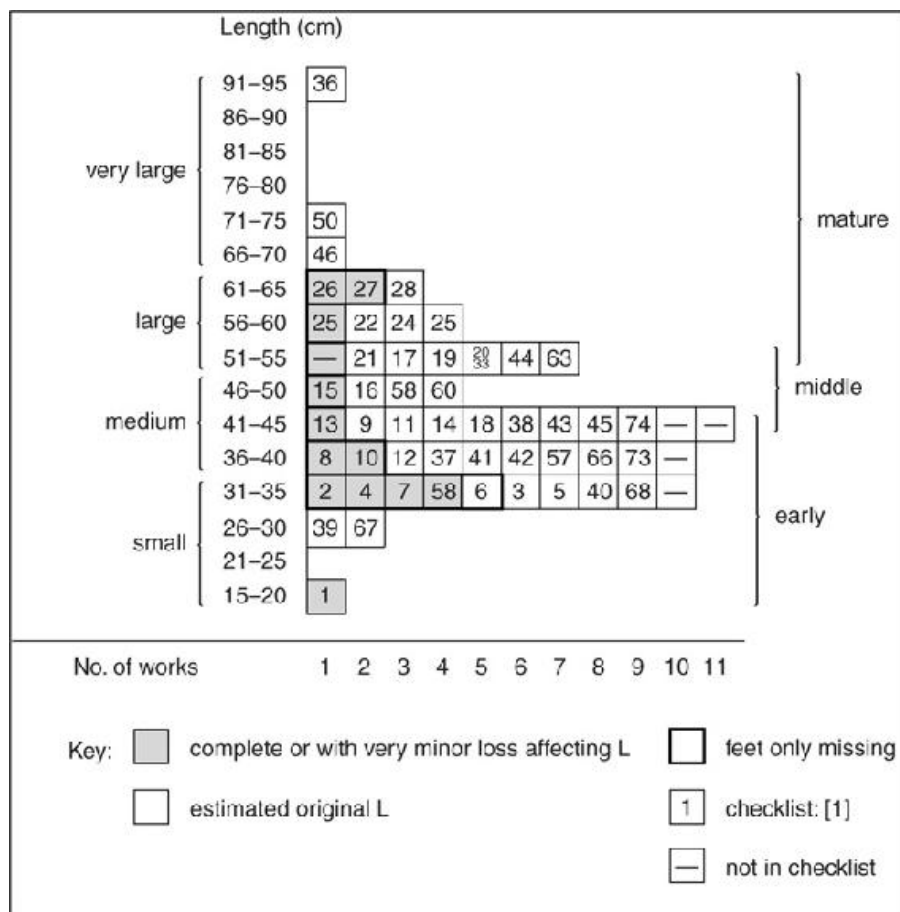


Chart A. The very well preserved works and fragments attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor, each identified as belonging to a discrete work

On his large (and presumably also on his very large) works, which are considerably less numerous than small and medium-sized ones, the Goulandris Sculptor preferred to carve the arms in relief and to separate them with a clear space. In fact, it is rare that one of his large

sculptures does not have separated arms. He was not, however, nearly as keen to incise fingers: only about half the figures with separated forearms have them (e.g., pls. 74*d*, 75; cf., e.g., pl. 73*d*).

The Goulandris Sculptor also preferred not to add the spine. This detail is present on about 12 percent of his works—on pieces which vary in size from very small to large (e.g., pls. 72*c*, 73*a*, *b*).¹⁷⁸ Of the works with the most detailed front surfaces, only two also have an incised spine (pl. 74*d*; [26]).

I have written more often and at greater length about the Goulandris Sculptor than about any other artist.¹⁷⁹ He interests me in part because there is such a large body of his work to study, giving us the best chance for understanding how the Cycladic sculptor developed, and in part because in much of his work he represents so well the calm restraint that one associates with the folded-arm figure at its best. My intention here is not to describe the sculptor's style and development in any detail, but rather to call attention to some aspects of his work that have not been previously discussed and to illustrate a number of unknown or little-known fragmentary works alongside a few that are better known. Even the reader who comes upon the Goulandris Sculptor for the first time here should be able to form a clear idea of his personal style and its fundamental consistency.

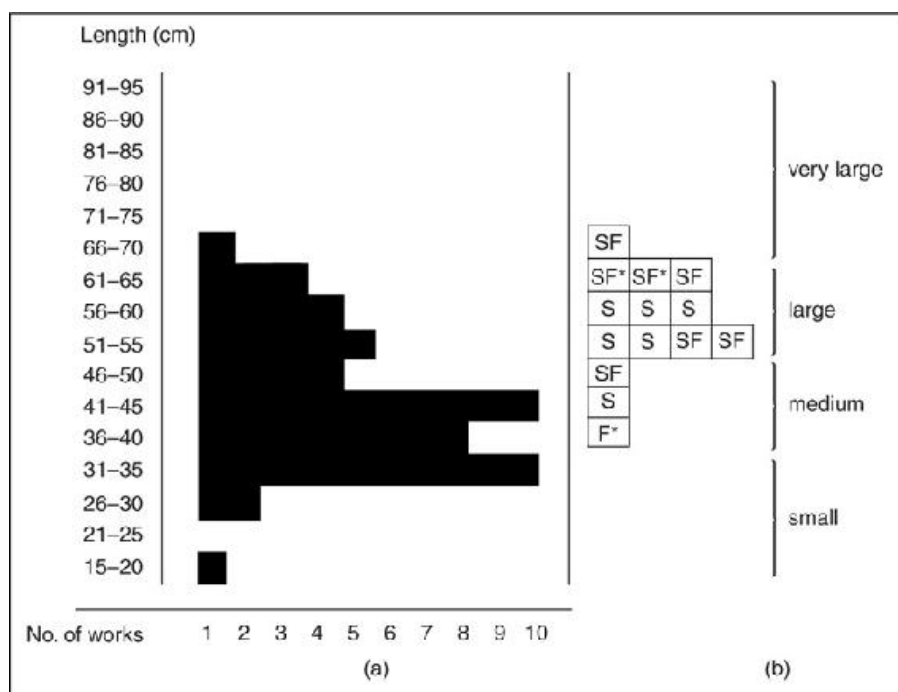


Chart B. The size range of works attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor: (a) with arms and (b) with arm separation (S), fingers (F), and spine (*)

The Goulandris Sculptor's signature is easy to recognize, even, I believe, in fragments.¹⁸⁰ While one might single out as definitive certain features such as the particular shape of the nose or the pronounced slope of the shoulders, it is really the sum total of all its elements and myriad nuances that defines his style and, for all that it epitomizes the conservative approach of the Late Spedos sculptors, makes it unlike that of any other individual. For each part, for each aspect of his basic image, as in the style of all Cycladic sculptors, there was a certain range of variation, but this range was always narrower than the range within the general style. For example, if one looks at the four heads in [plate 71](#), there is a clear similarity in the outline contours and in the basic shape and placement of the nose. There are clear differences, too. The noses of *a* and *d* are proportionally narrower than those of *b* and *c*, although one can easily see that they are related. On the other hand, seen from the front, the chins of *c* and especially *d* are subtly pointed, in contrast to those of *a* and *b*. Together with the contours of the head and the shape of the nose, with its low extension on the face, it is easy enough to read both the rounded and the more pointed chin as characteristic variants within the sculptor's style. In general, the rounded or straighter (and flatter, shallower) chin occurs on figures with a relatively thin, straight profile (e.g., [13, 25, 26]), which were perhaps carved from a thinner piece of marble than usual. The more rounded chin is found on other sculptures as well (e.g., pl. 72*b*). The more angular or pointed chin is not uncommon and can be more or less pronounced; it tends to be more noticeable in photographs taken at a certain angle and under certain lighting conditions. The larger name-piece of the sculptor, illustrated in [plate 75a](#), has a chin that is rather subtly pointed, whereas on the figure in [plate 72c](#) the pointing is more emphatic.

Another idiosyncratic detail found on some works of the Goulandris Sculptor is a curious buttock bulge. Again, this occurs chiefly, or at least most prominently, on figures that are thicker and show a relatively strong flexion through the legs. Indeed, the projection of the buttocks contributes to the liveliness of the profile contours on such works. As with the rendering of the chin, there is considerable variation in the amount of buttock bulge. In [plate 74](#), for example, *a* has buttocks that are barely indicated, whereas those of *b* are unusually prominent; *c* and *d* fall somewhere in between.

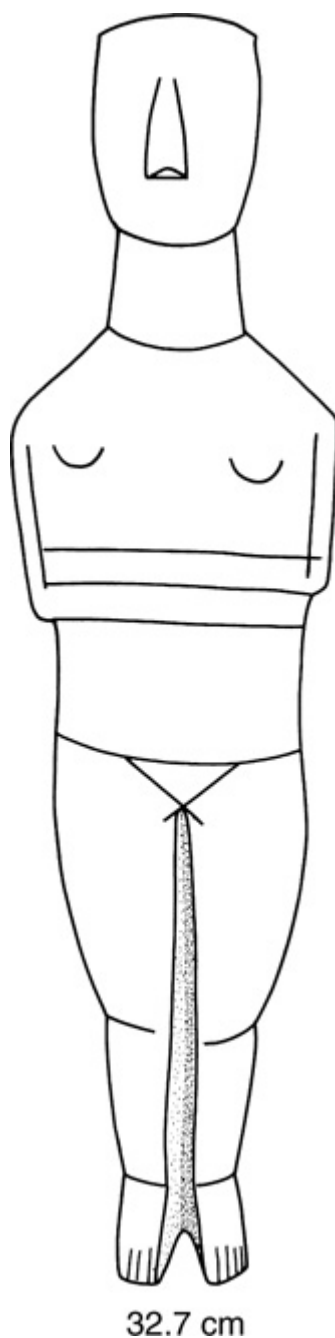
While variations of the sort that we have just been looking at, as well as the occasional presence of the spine, seem to occur here and there throughout the sculptor's work, variations in the size of his figures and in the rendering of the arms, and more generally in the degree of overall competence exhibited, are, I believe, largely indicative of different stages of his development. The Goulandris

Sculptor—like most carvers of folded-arm figures, apparently—began working in a relatively small scale. The smallest work attributable to his hand with confidence is, at 16.4 cm, very small indeed [1].¹⁸¹ Evidently this scale was too limiting, because he seems quickly to have abandoned it. Rather, he favored in his early years a range of about 30 to 42 cm, which is not to say that some works larger than this might not also be relatively early efforts (e.g., [15]), or that he necessarily fashioned smaller figures exclusively at the beginning of his career.

Throughout this chapter, wherever there are enough pieces to make it possible, I identify as earlier those efforts of a sculptor that appear to be his least accomplished. Most often these are also relatively small. While it is certainly logical to assume that the earlier works will have been less accomplished than the fully mature ones, it would be simplistic to suppose that *all* lesser works were necessarily fashioned early in a sculptor's career. However, in the absence of any record other than the figures themselves, it is probably not possible to differentiate between images that are less accomplished because they are the products of a sculptor's immaturity and ones that are less accomplished for other reasons—because, for example, they were made late in his life when his abilities may have been impaired, or because they were made in haste or inattentively, without the usual level of care, or because difficulties encountered during the carving required modifications no longer recognizable as such but which might cause a figure to appear clumsy in comparison with his usual mature work. There may be other possibilities I have overlooked. Still, the less accomplished works are more likely to have been early efforts than mature ones. Habits established through experience would have become “second nature” and would have been strong deterrents to the occasional lapses and even to any significant loss of powers as a sculptor aged. This is likely to be true especially in a craft tradition, where competence was gained through repetition and where novelty of expression was not a concern.

The images that I believe belong to the Goulandris Sculptor's immaturity tend, then, to be fairly modest in size compared with his largest ones, and they have plain grooved arms. They tend also to be awkward or tentative in certain ways, and this can have the effect of throwing their overall appearance slightly off balance. For example, in [plate 72](#), *a* belonged to a figure of about 30 cm. One may note the marked disparity in the thickness of the upper arms and the forearms, with the latter thicker than usual and rather roughly executed. In the sculptor's mature works, the thickness is more consistent and more appropriate, proportionally, to the figure as a whole (e.g., pls. 74*d*, 75)—neither too thick nor too thin, as on some of the early pieces

(e.g., [4, 8]). On the rear of *a* in [plate 72](#), one should note the oblique inner line of the arms and the greater width of the shorter left arm. As the sculptor matures, the inner line becomes more vertical, and the thickness of the upper arms is consistent and quite similar front and rear (pl. 75). On *b*, which measures 32.7 cm, the upper arms are again quite thin; on the rear the inner lines are, as on *a*, oblique, and one arm is wider than the other. Another sign of immaturity seen on the rear of *b* and on a number of other works of modest size is the rendering of the leg-cleft in separate sections, interrupted by the knee grooves, as we saw in the earlier work of the Naxos Museum Sculptor (e.g., pl. 70a2). On *b*, too, the feet are unusually slender and contrast rather sharply with the robustness of the rest, affecting the appearance and balance of the whole.[182](#)



32.7 cm

Fig. 37. A figure attributable to an early phase of the Goulandris Sculptor

Also observable on *b* are two sets of incision overruns—at the bend of the left arm and, most unusual, at the apex of the pubic triangle (fig. 37). Incision overruns resulted when a craftsman, in using a

straight edge to guide his incising tool, necessarily obscured his view of the end-point of the groove in progress, causing him to go beyond it by mistake. Overruns, usually minor, are quite common in Cycladic sculpture generally (e.g., pls. 31c, 36, 37, 42, 48b, 86c). In the work of the Goulandris Sculptor, they occur rather frequently at the bend of the arms; rarely, one of the sides of the pubic triangle overshoots its apex. As a rule, overruns are more pronounced or doubled on his smaller, earlier works than on the fully mature ones. In his case they appear to be the result not so much of carelessness as lack of experience (e.g., pl. 74a, c). Normally, it appears, overruns were considered acceptable, since no attempt was made to erase them or render them less conspicuous. The occurrence of overruns on *both* sides of the pubic triangle of *b*, which makes them appear to form an X rather than a V, is, among the Goulandris Sculptor's works, apparently unique to this image. Having made the mistake once early in his career, he evidently made sure not to let it happen again.¹⁸³

A final example of the sculptor's early work, to which I would draw particular attention, is the fragmentary figure in [plate 74a](#), which originally had a length of about 41 cm. Here the left upper arm appears to be thicker than the right, and the shoulders are very noticeably unequal in length and slope. The overall impression is one of ungainliness. One might compare this work with the fragment illustrated in [plate 73b](#). Originally about 52 cm in length, this piece appears somewhat more advanced. Its shoulder points are even, and a line drawn between them would be parallel to the forearms. The impression here is one of greater balance and competence. I have illustrated the torso next to the comparable portion of a figure with an estimated length of only about 37 cm (pl. 73a) because from the rear they are so similar. This is not simply because both have a grooved spine. Their elbows also protrude to about the same degree and show the same asymmetry, and the inner line of the arms is marked in much the same way. To be sure, the slope of the shoulders is less extreme on *a* than on *b*, and the shoulders, in front especially, are more sharply pointed on *b*, yet the similarities prevail, I believe, in identifying these works and also *c*, which had a length of about 55 cm, as belonging to a more advanced stage than the early works discussed above. There are, in fact, many works such as these, mostly about 40 to 55 cm in length, that appear to show an increased self-assurance.

The presence of fingers on *a* has already been noted. If they represent an initial use of this detail, it was probably not long before the sculptor tried his hand at separating the forearms and carving them in relief [14], and even incising fingers in what may have been his earliest effort at adding interest to his images in this way [17].¹⁸⁴ These works, along with the others that are larger and show a surer

hand, may be thought of as representing a middle phase of his development or his early maturity. They effectively prepared the Goulandris Sculptor for his finest, fully detailed images, which tend to be larger still and highly appealing in their taut and seemingly effortless simplicity. These qualities, as well as their fine incision work, can certainly be appreciated in a number of fragments (e.g., pls. 74*d*, 75*b*, 76*a*), although, happily, several examples of his most impressive work are very well preserved (pls. 75*a*, 76*c*; [21, 25, a detail of which is shown in pl. 76*b*; 26]).

Looking at the examples illustrated here, it is easy to see that in several respects the piece in [plate 75*b*](#) is quite different from those shown in plates 74*d* and 75*a*. Its elbows do not protrude as far from the body; its breasts are carved lower on the chest; and it lacks their sinuous curvature through the contours of the lower body. Originally measuring about 67 cm—that is, a few centimeters longer than the others—this piece has a less well preserved surface.¹⁸⁵ Allowing for this, and granting that the level of workmanship was equally high, one is nevertheless immediately aware that it does not have their vigor and brilliance, which derive in large part from the forcefulness of the upper body and arm contours and the sensuous rhythm of the contours through the lower body. On the two works in [plate 75](#), the relationship of the shoulder and hip widths is virtually the same, and the waist of *a* is actually only slightly more slender than that of *b*, although it gives the illusion of being much more so. The greatest discrepancy between the two works is in the relative width across the elbows, and therein lies the difference in their power and presence. One should perhaps think of the larger, more sedate and sober work as preceding the other two.

Variations in the amount of elbow projection (and also in the asymmetry of the elbows) occur throughout the Goulandris Sculptor's work, although the elbows of the earlier pieces are perhaps more often closer to the body than those of later ones; and the less mature images tend also to be slightly thicker through the waist. It is clear that the sculptor, who was fundamentally conservative in his approach, grappled with the age-old question of how to make a safe and sturdy image that also had the vitality and spirit needed to command attention. The emphasis on the arms, through relief and separation, was certainly one way to add interest, but the slight exaggeration of the upper torso created by the elbows was, I believe, the key. This was used with particular effect in the works illustrated in plates 74*d* and 75*a*.

Each of the Goulandris Sculptor's works is an individual easily distinguished from all the others, even though his signature is "written" all over it. No two are even close to being exactly alike—

there is no reason whatever to expect that they should be—and if they were lined up side by side, they would not present a monotonous array of sameness but rather the lively variety one might expect among siblings in an impossibly large family.

I have long believed that the Goulandris Sculptor lived and worked on Naxos. I have held this belief even though only one work attributable to him has been recovered on that island by archaeologists [7].¹⁸⁶ And even though a number of fragments of figures from his hand have been found in controlled investigations on Keros (e.g., [14]), and at least one fragment reported from Amorgos may have actually been recovered there [48], I regard these works, too, as having been made on Naxos.¹⁸⁷

Given that the sculptor's work has been found on two islands, with a third possible, it would be of considerable interest to know if he was an itinerant craftsman or if, as I have preferred to believe, his sculptures found their way to other islands only after they had left his hands. If the Goulandris Sculptor was a wandering artist, he is likely to have made use of a variety of marble sources, but if he stayed in one place, presumably he would have consistently selected marble from one area of his home island, not far from where he lived. This, it occurred to me, was a question that isotopic signature analysis might well be able to answer, if only a significant percentage of the sculptor's works could be sampled. Thanks to the enthusiastic cooperation of a number of museums and private collectors, this has proven possible, with some very interesting results.

Samples taken from twenty-three pieces attributed to the sculptor have now been subjected to isotopic analysis—that is, nearly one-fifth of all the individual pieces known at present; included in the twenty-three are nearly a quarter of the sixty definitely different sculptures mentioned earlier (table III). (Unfortunately, not enough fragments could be sampled for possible joins or nonadjacent matches to be recognized.) All the works tested appear to be made of southeast Naxian marble, although northern Naxos cannot be ruled out as the source.¹⁸⁸ Of the twenty-three works, seventeen have such similar signatures that their marble must have come from one circumscribed area, possibly from a single outcrop (table III: nos. marked with an asterisk; chart C). Indeed, among these seventeen are several small groups, involving fourteen separate signatures, that are so close as to suggest that they belonged to the same four or five larger pieces of marble! (See table III: 1, 2, 21; 14, 19, 23; 5, 10; 7, 8, 9; 13, 16, 18; also: 1, 2, 7, 8; 13, 16, 18, 21.)

Among those with similar signatures are works representing many sizes and all phases of the sculptor's development. The closeness of the signatures not only confirms that the Goulandris Sculptor stayed put,

perhaps in one of the settlements in southeast Naxos, but also lends strong support to the validity of my attributions, even though other carvers—among them the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor—may have obtained their raw material from the same source (compare charts C and D). A case in point is the head illustrated in [plate 71c](#), which Renfrew hesitates to accept as a work of the Goulandris Sculptor on the grounds that too little of the piece—roughly a quarter—is preserved. I disagree, convinced that its resemblance to the heads of the name-pieces in the same museum (which, despite some obvious differences, he does accept as the work of one person) is so strong that their relatedness is obvious (pls. 72*b*, 75*a*).¹⁸⁹ If one needs scientific confirmation, however, the isotopic signature study provides objective evidence that it is possible to ascribe quite fragmentary works to individual sculptors. The signature of the head in question ([table III: 11](#)), for example, is very close to that of a more fully preserved figure [45] ([table III: 17](#)).¹⁹⁰ Of the group of seventeen works with closely matched signatures, eight are fragments representing less than one-half of their original images.

TABLE III. Works attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor that have been subjected to isotopic analysis

Checklist	L/Est. L±	Level	Isotopic signature (to nearest 10th)	
			Carbon	Oxygen
1. [3]*	34±	E	1.9	-5.7
2. [4]*	33.7	E	1.9	-5.6
3. [5]*	35±	E	2.0	-6.0
4. [8]	38.2	E	3.7	-5.2
5. [13]*	41.9	M	2.2	-6.3
6. [17]*	52±	—	2.3	-5.2
7. [20/33]*	52±	M	2.0	-5.5
8. [22]*	56±	MM	2.1	-5.5
9. [26]*	61.7	MM	2.2	-5.4
10. [28]*	67±	MM	2.2	-6.2
11. [30]†	42±	(M)	1.9	-7.4
12. [31]*	47±	(M)	2.0	-6.6
13. [35]*	58±	—	1.7	-5.3
14. [36]*	93±	(MM)	2.2	-5.6
15. [38]	41±	E	0.8	-6.1
16. [41]*	36±	E	1.8	-5.4
17. [45]†	56±	M	2.0	-8.0
18. [52]*	46±	—	1.8	-5.5
19. [53]*	53±	(M)	2.1	-5.8
20. [55]■	45±	—	1.8	-9.7
21. [67]*	30±	E	1.8	-5.5
22. [69]■	40±	—	1.8	-10.2
23. [71]*	66±	—	2.3	-5.7

Key:

*+■: figures/fragments with similar signatures

E: early

M: middle or mature

MM: mature with special arm/hand treatment

—: not enough preserved

(): guess, based on size and/or amount preserved

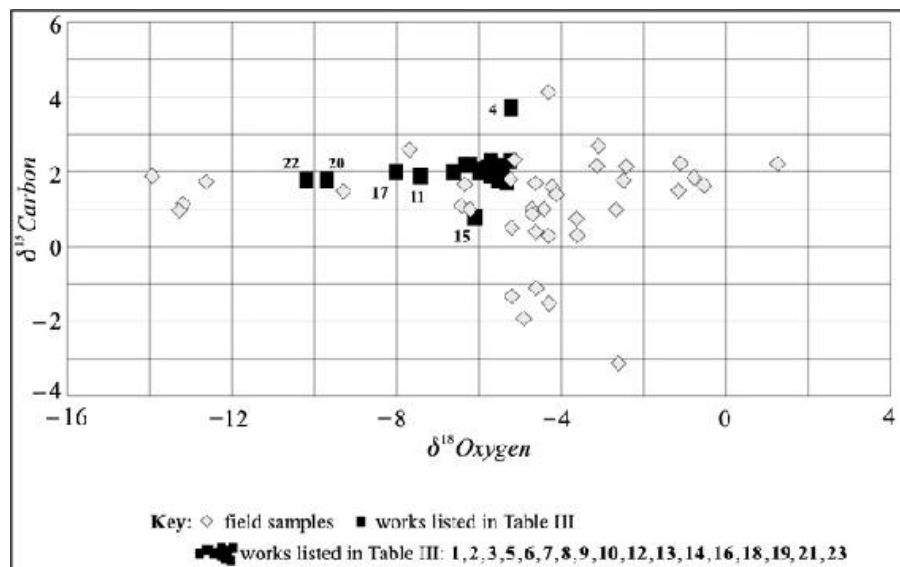


Chart C. Isotopic signatures of works attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor plotted on marble fields of southeast Naxos

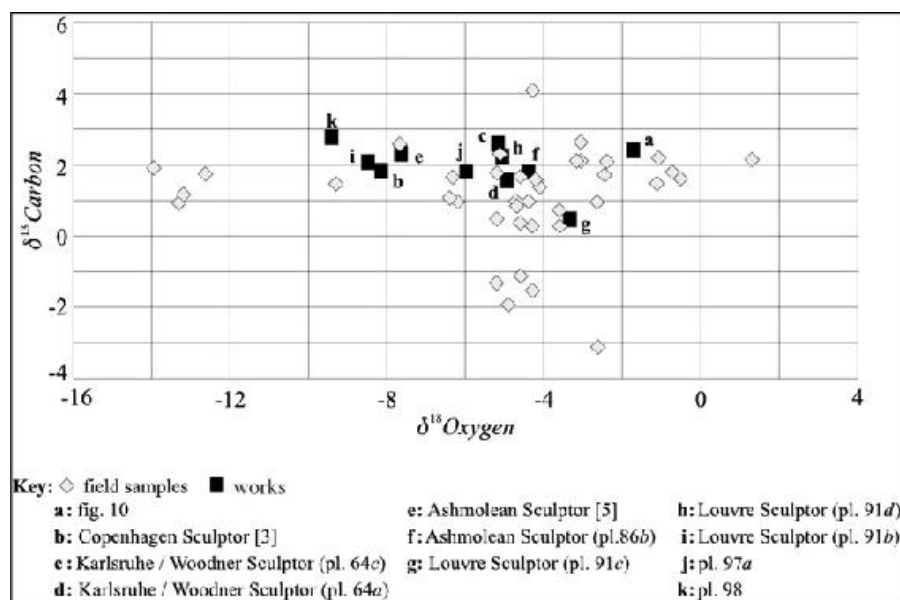


Chart D. Isotopic signatures of various works plotted on marble fields of southeast Naxos

THE BASTIS SCULPTOR (PLS. 77–78; CHECKLIST PP. 166, 186)

In *Sculptors* I was able to identify only four works that I believe represent three separate phases of a Late Spedos variety sculptor whose most accomplished piece is, arguably, one of the most aesthetically appealing of all Cycladic sculptures (c).¹⁹¹ The steps that led to the Bastis Sculptor's best period (see also [fig. 20](#)) are therefore of particular interest. I am now able to add to the small body of this artist's work three additional, albeit fragmentary pieces either known to me but not recognized earlier ([fig. 38c](#)) or unknown to me until after the publication of *Sculptors* (pl. 77a [fig. 38b](#); [fig. 38d](#)).¹⁹² All three can be assigned to the middle phase of the sculptor's development.

Like the Goulandris Sculptor, the Bastis Sculptor's earliest identifiable work is small and sturdy, with a well-defined outline ([fig. 38a](#)). One may note the angularity of the head and shoulders and the pronounced nose, which foreshadow not only the sculptor's best work but also the more severe Dokathismata variety style. The elbows are held close to the body, and the narrow, bandlike arms, rendered by means of grooves, are relatively symmetrical in effect, with little apparent disparity in the level of the elbows. The hips are broad and curving; the leg-cleft is unusually wide, and the feet are carved separately to the heels, as on the sculptor's finest images. In profile the figure is thick, but the contours are quite similar to those of his mature works. On the rear, the back is laterally curved and the spine is marked, although the buttocks are not set off or emphasized with a horizontal line (compare pl. 78c). This well-made but unrefined small image is the conservative stylistic antecedent of the much larger mature figures with separated forearms carved in relief and with carefully incised close-spaced fingers, elongated mid-sections, and long calves separated for much of their length by the perforation of the cleft—something highly unusual on Late Spedos variety figures, although we have encountered it in vestigial form in the work of the Rodgers Sculptor, whom I would place somewhat earlier (pl. 68).

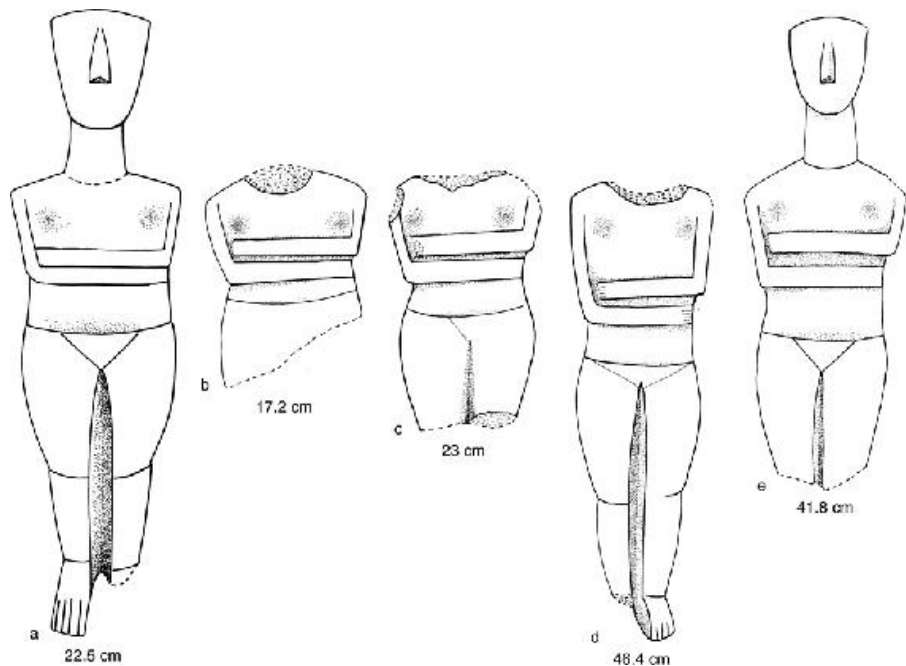


Fig. 38. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Bastis Sculptor: *a* to an early phase, *b–d* to a middle phase

The identification of the works I regard as early and mature as the products of the same hand is supported by the fact that the one early work and one of two mature works were found in the same cemetery (and possibly even the same grave) on Naxos (figs. 20, 38*a*). Indeed, these two pieces are quite alike in subtle ways: note, for example, the angle of the shoulders and the proportions of the upper body; I have already mentioned the similar profile contour and the presence of the spine. The reader might quite logically wonder if the small work should be thought of not as an early work necessarily but simply as a *small* image on which the carver did not lavish as much attention as he did on a figure twice its size. Characteristics such as the thickness of the profile, the relative shortness of the mid-section and thighs, and the breadth of the leg-cleft, when compared with the large works, to me suggest an immature stage of development. In other words, I would expect more of a small work carved in the sculptor's finest period even if he preferred to keep it quite simple. Like other sculptors who in their prime were unusually accomplished, the Bastis Sculptor, too, must have made a considerable number of much less ambitious and competent works to prepare him for his most notable achievements. Since four pieces can now be assigned to a stage between the two extremes of his development, it seems evident that the sculptor moved rather gradually from the safe, stocky approach

toward the bold refinement of his best work. Nevertheless, if one accepts the small figure as representing an early stage of the sculptor's career, it is necessary to acknowledge that some of the characteristics already present on it—the spine, for example, or the very prominent nose—appear to have been abandoned during the more experimental middle phase, only to reappear later on in the sculptor's fully developed style.

The three pieces that can now be added to the list of the Bastis Sculptor's works share with the figure in [plate 77b](#) ([fig. 38e](#)) arms that are carved in relief and separated by a clear space, elbows that protrude slightly and are set at markedly different levels to create a deliberate asymmetry, and, on the rear, the absence of a spine and buttock groove (pl. 78). The two torso fragments and the much better preserved sculpture in [figure 38e](#) do not have fingers, although there was enough space for them, whereas the badly weathered headless work did. Moreover, as on the fully mature work in [figure 20](#), the fingers of the left hand of the headless figure do not extend all the way across the body to meet the right upper arm.

All four of the mid-career works are likely to belong to the Keros hoard; all were executed in roughly the same scale—from about 50 cm to about 60 cm, which is the same as the size range of the two finest works. The new additions have rather abbreviated abdomens, like the small figure ([fig. 38a](#)). In profile, they are very straight, insofar as they are preserved, and, in the case of the best-preserved one, very narrow, with almost no indication of the buttocks. Of the works illustrated in [figure 38](#), *b* has a V-shaped neckline in back, and traces of the same sort of marking are visible also on *c*; *d* and *e*, as well as the small work, *a*, are damaged in this area but presumably also once had an incised V, as do the two most mature works of the sculptor. The neckline of *e* has been restored in [plate 78b](#). Curiously, the head/neck juncture on the rear of this work is a horizontal groove rather than the acute arched configuration found on the other figures with the head preserved.

The order in which the works in [figure 38](#) are shown was, I believe, the sequence in which they are likely to have been fashioned, although I have been somewhat arbitrary in placing *e* after *d* because of its ampler mid-section and its more gracefully curved abdominal groove, and because the slight slope of the right forearm is also found on the sculptor's masterwork in [plate 77c](#). [Figure d](#) is, however, more slender in profile, albeit without much variation in contour. That and the original presence of fingers perhaps indicate a slightly more advanced stage than *e*. It should be noted as well that the subtly concave contour of the right upper arm of *e* closely resembles that of *a*, and the separation of the arms is more exaggerated than on the

other intermediate works, as if the sculptor had been experimenting with the concept of asymmetry. This, one might suppose, would have occurred rather early on in his development. However one places *d* and *e*, I believe the newly identified works, fragmentary as they are, add to an understanding of the Bastis Sculptor's development. It is hoped that additional works will one day surface to represent the transition from *d* and *e* to the no larger but much more elegantly attenuated and precisely detailed works that epitomize the zenith of his career.

In *Sculptors* I discussed the close relationship between the works of the Goulandris and Bastis Sculptors, particularly in their developing phases, which prompted me to suggest that they might have been brothers who worked in close proximity to each other for much of their careers.¹⁹³ I would go so far as to say that the Bastis Sculptor should be regarded as the younger of the two, since his work anticipates the Dokathismata variety and since he takes the refinement of the Goulandris Sculptor's conservative style a bold step further. The newly identified works of this figure-maker provide good evidence that the two craftsmen developed along similar lines.

Both artists favored a laterally curved back, upon which it would have been more difficult to mark the spine than on the flat surface normally seen in the work of other Spedos variety artists, who all but invariably added this detail. In omitting the spine, when they did so, the Goulandris and Bastis Sculptors were making a conscious decision to go against both convention and nature. The Bastis Sculptor seems to have begun by marking the spine (although we need more early works to be sure of his consistency), but then, as the Goulandris Sculptor did on the majority of his works, he omitted this detail, only to return to using it again on his most mature pieces, which show the greatest independence from the Goulandris Sculptor's influence. Again, we have only two works from the Bastis Sculptor's best period—both with a grooved spine—whereas from the Goulandris Sculptor's hand there are a significant number, only a few of which have a spine.

If one compares the works of these two carvers through the various stages of their development, I think one can form a very good mental picture of the degree to which the styles of sculptors working in close association would have—indeed, could have—resembled each other. This, I believe, is as close as one can reasonably come to the concept of a “workshop” or of “similar works being made by members of the same family.”¹⁹⁴ Renfrew speaks of the possibility that several generations of a family would have produced quite similar works, but one can stretch out the Goulandris–Bastis connection only so far, positing no more than a father–son/master–apprentice relationship in

which the younger man formed his own style and surpassed the older one once he had learned all he could from him. However closely the two may have been related—I prefer the nearly parallel development of siblings or even unrelated contemporaries—the point is that their styles remained discrete throughout, even if at times they were only subtly different.¹⁹⁵ If, however, one were to look among the works attributed to the Goulandris Sculptor for figures that might have been made by different members of a transgenerational workshop, I submit that it would prove to be a fundamentally unsound and illogical exercise.¹⁹⁶ And yet, using as examples the Goulandris Sculptor's two namepieces (pls. 72*b*, 75*a*), which I view as early and late works of a single artist, Renfrew (despite his admission that they are likely to be from the same hand) hypothesizes that (or at least wonders if) they might not instead have been the work of two related sculptors.¹⁹⁷ The implication here is that within the body of work that I regard as imprinted with an individual's personal style or signature, one might find that several hands were involved. In trying to isolate groups of works that resemble each other most closely, one is likely to duplicate the groups I view as representing different stages of a single sculptor's development. By assigning these, rather, to different craftsmen, one would have to abandon any idea that an individual developed artistically or even that he became technically more proficient during the course of his working life. We would be left with one or two carvers who made small, unrefined works, one or two who from the start made large and beautifully detailed images, and one or two who fell somewhere in between. How much more reasonable to suppose that a sculptor brought up in the tradition would have learned first by observation and imitation and through instruction, and then, most importantly, through his own carving experience, each of his works serving as a trial piece for the next one and a vehicle for improvement. Over time he would increase his ability to manipulate the marble, hone his aesthetic sensibilities, and refine his own particular approach. His style might well resemble that of his teacher—that is how conservative traditions are sustained—but it could never have been identical, given his separate identity as well as the fact that Cycladic figures are infinitely more complex in their nuances than they appear to be on first inspection.

THE SCHUSTER SCULPTOR (P. ii; PLS. 79–85; CHECKLIST PP. 167, 186)

The long, sloping shoulders of the Goulandris Sculptor already hint at

developments to come, while the Bastis Sculptor's style was still more forward-looking. With the Schuster Sculptor's interpretation of the folded-arm figure, we see a masterful blending of the Late Spedos and Dokathismata approaches that is at once vibrant and arresting, balanced and elegant.

This artist understood very well the importance of the upper body and arms, and, abandoning the cautiousness of his predecessors, he invested his figures with an added dimension. In distinct contrast to the Bastis Sculptor's delicately dignified masterwork, the only folded-arm figure known to me with shoulders that are narrower than its hips (pl. 77c), upper body breadth is a salient feature of the Schuster Sculptor's style. Shoulders that can be as wide as a third of the total length and elbows that project, sometimes dramatically, endow his works with a powerful presence. At the same time, a meticulous concern for symmetry throughout his image, but especially at the arms, which was achieved by making the elbows level, imbues the sculptor's work with a strong sense of balance and harmony. By contrast, the Goulandris and Bastis sculptors relied on such special effects as arm separation and relief to attract attention. With the elbows of their figures carved rather close to the body in most cases, these sculptors could afford to be less concerned about symmetry or lack thereof. The Goulandris Sculptor seems in much of his work to have been almost indifferent to the question. In the rest—chiefly figures with separated arms—we can see that he did acknowledge the problem, by thickening the left elbow and/or by slanting or curving the left forearm in an effort to bring the level of the left elbow closer to that of the right one (e.g., pls. 73d, 74a, d, 75a).¹⁹⁸ The Bastis Sculptor, on the other hand, appears to have embraced the idea of deliberate asymmetry by exaggerating the disparity of the elbows, sensing perhaps that this would draw the viewer's gaze to the most important part of his image.

The Schuster Sculptor¹⁹⁹ evidently preferred to carve in a scale that was relatively modest. Few of his known works exceeded 45 cm in length, and for that reason most of them do not have incised fingers (cf. pl. 80c). In his case, it is not possible to say that he began by making small figures and gradually increased the size of his work as he gained experience and confidence in his own abilities, for some of his most accomplished figures are or were rather small (e.g., pl. 82a, b). Given the works known today, it is also not possible to postulate the path of his development. It is unclear, for example, if figures with less exaggerated shoulders and elbows, rather straight upper arms, and narrow forearms, the left extended nearly to the right upper arm, are likely to be earlier than those with very broad shoulders, slanted upper arms, and projecting elbows, some of which have narrow

forearms, too, but with a clear termination of the left arm well before the right upper arm (e.g., pl. 79*b*). The portions of the shoulders and arms that project beyond the torso are the thinnest and most vulnerable parts of the sculptor's figures (see profile views), and it could be that the less extreme ones represent modifications of his original design due to unforeseen complications that arose during the carving process.

To the previously known examples of the Schuster Sculptor's work it is possible to add three pieces, one of which—a badly eroded, headless figure from the Keros hoard—had been overlooked by me earlier (pls. 80–81: *b*). This work, which originally measured about 33 cm, is perhaps too damaged to add very much to our knowledge and appreciation of the sculptor's style. It is, however, important to note that this is one of very few works with at least one foot reasonably well preserved. In profile, its foot shows the same arched or concave sole so elegantly rendered on the considerably smaller headless figure in plates 80–81: *a* or the slightly smaller work in plates 82–83: *b* (see also pl. 85*d–f*).²⁰⁰ This is also the only known figure attributable to the Schuster Sculptor that does not, at least in its present worn state, have an incised spine.

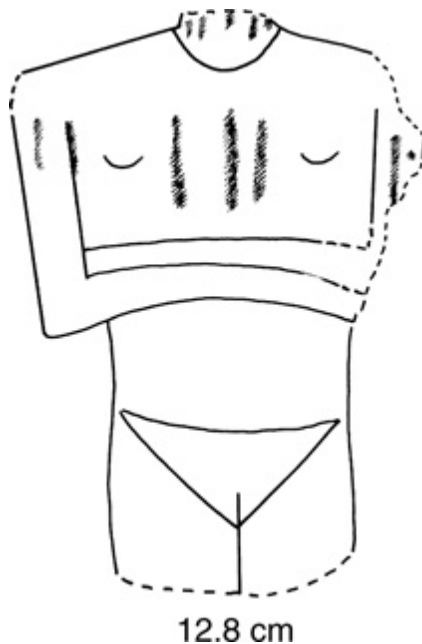
The second work is of considerable interest despite its damaged state (p. ii; pl. 79*a*; fig. 39). While the most striking aspect of the fragment may be the vivid remains of vertical red stripes painted on the front of the neck, chest, and upper arms, it is of interest, too, for the way in which the right elbow is “dropped.” (Evidently the missing left elbow was dropped to the same level.) This is somewhat different from other, previously known works, which have straighter forearms and elbows, but, as we shall see, it is not unprecedented. It is also unusual in having a leg-cleft that is a clear continuation of the spine.

The first time I saw photographs of the figure in plates 82–83: *c*, I immediately responded to it as a work of the Schuster Sculptor. Upon reflection, and having compared the piece to others already attributed to this craftsman, it became clear that in many respects the image is not at all typical of his work. In fact, if the head were missing, I am not sure I could recognize it as a product of the Schuster Sculptor's hand, and yet there can be no doubt that the head and body belong to the same piece.²⁰¹

Three figures previously attributed to the artist have the head preserved (pls. 82*a*, *b*, 84).²⁰² Fortunately, two of these are in superior condition, which facilitates comparison. They happen also to be the two that, on first inspection, seem the least alike: the head of *a* in plate 82 appears quite simple and angular in its outline contours, while the head of *b* is lyre-shaped, with an arching crown and delicate “finials” at the corners. On the rear (pl. 83), *a* has a rather narrow, flat

ridge across the top, whereas *b* has a much thicker ridge, dictated by the arching top line. In profile, the two heads, with their prominent aquiline noses, are quite similar, except that that of *b* bends back sharply toward the top. Indeed, because of this, photographs of the complete front and rear views of the figure make the head appear much shorter and proportionally broader across the top than it actually is. The detailed view of the head of *b* in [plate 85](#) reveals that its contours are not so very different, after all, from the head of *a* (cf. pl. 85a): only at the top do they diverge. As for the head of the figure in [plate 84](#), it appears closer to that of *a* than that of *b*. The simpler heads, once again, may be due in part to difficulties encountered during carving. The carver may have set out to give them finials and an arched crown, only to be forced to alter his plans because one of the finials broke off.²⁰³ If *a* and *b* represent the extremes of stylistic variation of which the Schuster Sculptor was capable, whether by design or by accident, two heads previously attributed to the sculptor are well within their parameters, having more or less pronounced finials, more or less arched crowns and crescent-shaped ridges in back, and fairly straight profiles ([11], [12]).

As for the new figure (pls. 82, 83, 85: c), there is no denying that its distinctive head very closely resembles that of *b*, if the latter is viewed in proper perspective, except that *c* has a shorter and straighter forehead and a more dramatic nose. Because of the essential similarity, there can be little doubt that the heads of the two figures, at least, were carved by one person—an artist of considerable skill. But what of the rest? From the neck to the break at the ankles, its style, as mentioned, is quite different from the Schuster Sculptor's habitual style, and one might well wonder if someone else worked on the body and legs. This is indeed the only Cycladic figure for which I would even consider entertaining such a possibility as one way to account for the fact that, except for the sharp, downward-pointing, dropped elbows, which are quite like the surviving elbow of the fragment in [plate 79a](#) (and [6]), nearly everything about the piece seems somewhat different. And yet these differences could all be described as differences of *degree*—as if the image were simply a mannered version of the Schuster Sculptor's normal approach.



12.8 cm

Fig. 39. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Schuster Sculptor, with painted details

If one looks closely at the figure, the outline contours, from both the front and the side, seem exaggerated, more emphatic. For example, the concave outline of the upper arms is slightly more pronounced than on the figures in [plate 80](#), and the indentation at the knees more forceful than on the piece in [plate 82b](#), which, incidentally, is the only previously identified work of the sculptor with any profile marking of the knees (pl. 83b). The new figure has knee grooves, too, although they are less sharply defined. In profile, the nose, as noted, is more pronounced than on the other works. Also, the neck shows an unusual convexity along the front; the breasts appear more sharply pointed because their contours are slightly concave rather than angular; and the backs of the calves have a stronger contour than usual. Considering other details, one notices that the inner line of the upper arms is curiously short on both the front and the rear. Although there is no parallel for this on the front of the works identified earlier, shorter lines are found on the back of the figure in [plate 84](#). On the new figure, too, while the full extension of the left forearm is paralleled in the figure in [plate 80a](#), that of the right forearm is alone in being visible from the rear. Finally, the pubic triangle has a slightly wider opening than any of the other works.²⁰⁴

In sum, the longer forearms, the dropped elbows, the more open triangle, and the more deeply grooved spine (which continues into the leg-cleft, as on the figure in pl. 79a) can all be viewed, like the

contours, as simple exaggerations of the sculptor's usual style. If one acknowledges this, there really is no need to consider the involvement of a second artist—and in any case it is not possible to point to other works from such a hand, which makes the tentative hypothesis offered above all the weaker. Rather, I believe this highly interesting piece represents either a brief phase or a singular bold experiment that led the Schuster Sculptor to intensify the elements of his usual (but by no means uniform) style. The moderate upper body/arm width and the rather straight shoulder/upper arm angle of the new work are closest to those of the figures in plates 79a, 82b, and 84, and, as I have noted, the new piece also has certain unusual details in common with each of these. It is possible, therefore, that all four works were made relatively close together in time.

THE ASHMOLEAN SCULPTOR (PLS. 86–87; CHECKLIST PP. 168, 186)

An excellent exponent of the full-fledged Dokathismata variety, characterized by a severe and stylized angularity, a diminished emphasis on curving elements, and a straight profile, the Ashmolean Sculptor's style forms an interesting contrast to that of the Schuster Sculptor. The first features markedly sloping shoulders with an angle reminiscent of the Goulandris Sculptor's work, while the Schuster Sculptor's shoulders are in most cases quite straight, rather like those of the Bastis Sculptor. And although the Ashmolean Sculptor's figures have shoulders that are very broad, their elbows do not project to the degree that the Schuster Sculptor's do. Instead, this sculptor created an illusion of greater elbow extension by narrowing the waist. The difference between the two sculptors' approach in this area becomes clear if one compares the width at the elbows to the width at the hips. The V-shaped neckline in front, a smaller pubic triangle, and feet carved together for nearly their entire length are some other characteristics of the Ashmolean Sculptor's approach that differ from those of the Schuster Sculptor.

In *Sculptors* I attributed four complete figures and the lower legs and feet of a fifth to the Ashmolean Sculptor, and I suggested that these works belonged to three phases of his development.²⁰⁵ I believe it is possible now to add two figures. One, which I would ascribe to the same middle stage as his largest work (pl. 86a), I am not at liberty to illustrate [6].²⁰⁶

I have known about the second figure (*b*) since 1968, when I first studied objects from the Keros hoard, but it did not occur to me until

recently that it could be from the hand of the Ashmolean Sculptor. This work, which originally had a length of about 55 cm, certainly differs in a number of respects from all the works previously ascribed to the sculptor. Most notably it shows greater elbow projection, a larger pubic triangle, and a wider leg-cleft. Looking at the piece in profile, one notices that the buttocks are awkwardly rounded rather than angular, while from the rear they appear to have been flattened—a modification perhaps of the sculptor’s original intention, following inadvertent damage during carving.²⁰⁷ In spite of the discrepancies, it is my opinion that this piece is from the Ashmolean Sculptor’s hand and that, stylistically, it falls between his largest work, which measures 75.9 cm, and the two works of about half that size that I ascribe to his finest period. In [plate 86](#) the four works are shown in the order in which I believe they were fashioned.

The “new” work (*b*) is similar to *a* in having relatively straight upper arms, proportionally narrow forearms, a pubic triangle that is wide in relation to the hip-width, a slender lower torso, and elongated legs. On the rear the inner line of the upper arms is not marked.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, the figure has a much longer neck, and its characteristically long, slender nose begins lower on the face, as on *c* and *d*. Like theirs, too, its shoulders are very broad, although with a less pronounced slope. The bowed sides of the pubic triangle are especially conspicuous because of its size, but in fact this bowed effect is not unparalleled in the work of the sculptor: on *d* (as well as [6]), one side of the triangle is also bowed.

The figure would seem, then, to represent an important step in the transition from less harmoniously conceived works such as *a* (and [6]) to the fully mature style represented by *c* and *d*. The latter are also considerably smaller than *a* and *b* and only slightly larger than [6], which suggests that after experimenting with sizes that were unusually large both for him and for Dokathismata variety carvers generally, the sculptor finally settled on the more modest size that suited him best.

THE BERLIN SCULPTOR (PLS. 88–90; CHECKLIST PP. 169, 186)

When I wrote *Sculptors*, I was able to identify only two well-preserved works attributable to an obviously advanced stage of the career of the Berlin Sculptor, a carver of Dokathismata variety figures (pls. 88–89c, *d*).²⁰⁹ Not long after, while preparing the catalogue entries for the exhibition “Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections,” it

occurred to me that two works known to me for many years must also be from his hand, but from an earlier period of his development. These images, one of which is illustrated here (*a*), are so similar to each other as to leave no doubt that they were made by one person, and yet they are so different from the two images already ascribed to the Berlin Sculptor that, on first inspection, the reader would be quite justified in viewing my claim with strong skepticism.

Putting these allegedly earlier works aside for the time being, I would like to introduce a figure that came to my attention only recently (*b*). This piece is a most welcome addition to the previously identified works, with which it shares a number of characteristics, some of them highly unusual and, taken together, unique to this sculptor. One might note in particular the chin, differentiated from the neck by little more than a groove; the broad, sloping shoulders, reminiscent of the Goulandris and Ashmolean Sculptors, but with the difference that their outline forms an elegant, continuous curve with the neck; the low-slung, gracefully curving neckline; elbows that stand out well away from the indented waist; hands that widen subtly to accommodate the correct number of precisely incised fingers, with the right hand slightly dropped to accentuate the swell of the abdomen; the large pubic triangle, its apex bisected by the leg-cleft; thighs that taper dramatically from the broad hips to narrow knees; and long calves that swell in profile and end with ankle grooves oriented low on the heels (see profiles). On the rear, one might note the way the upper arms are set in a lower plane from the back, and the continuous spine, which begins well above the imaginary apex formed by the oblique grooves defining the neckline.

Nearly identical in length to *c*, and slightly less than two-thirds the length of the largest work (*d*), the new figure was, I believe, the first of the three to be carved. With a maximum width that is a third of the length, it is considerably broader proportionally than either *c* or *d*, which are closely similar to each other in that respect, having a width/length ratio of about 1 to 4. The new figure is also slightly thicker than either of the other works, and although executed with care and skill, it lacks the refinement seen in the subtler transitions, especially through the lower body, and in the greater elongation of *c* and *d*. Yet the basic style is unmistakably the same. One need only compare the detailed views of the torsos of the three works in [plate 90](#) to appreciate how uncannily similar they are to each other. The one noteworthy discrepancy is to be seen in the rendering of the left hand, which does not extend as far as the right upper arm on either *b* or *d*,[210](#) the largest and most dramatically and dangerously stylized work. This is in contrast to *c*, on which the sculptor, reverting to an earlier method perhaps (cf. *a*), or as an experiment, extended the hand

fully, only to encounter difficulties incising the fingers, which show overruns onto the right upper arm immediately adjacent.

With three works instead of two, it becomes much easier to understand the progression that led the Berlin Sculptor to refine and stylize his approach, culminating in his most daring effort, with its risk-filled cutouts and its amazingly attenuated head (see profile). By comparison, the new figure seems ultraconservative—a perfect starting point for increasingly bolder efforts. If one compares the profiles of the heads of *b* and *d*, one can see in *b* the basic shape so skillfully and perilously distended in *d*. On *c* the sculptor experimented, rather, with making the head dangerously slender front and back. In profile, there is not much of a backward bend at the top. Curiously, unlike the heads of the other two, this head, with its delicate finials, has survived without damage.

Recently Renfrew warned of “the serious risk, if one goes on to consider sculptures lacking a welldocumented archaeological context, that one piece resembles another very closely for the very good reason that it is a direct and recent copy of it. This, I suspect, may be the case for one or two of the works in Getz-Preziosi’s lists of individual pieces attributed to individual masters. The name piece of the so-called Berlin Master, acquired by the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, in 1930 [sic], closely resembles a magnificent sculpture in the Athens National Museum that entered the collections with an unknown provenance early in this century, but the treatment of the wrists and hands of the Berlin piece leads me to wonder whether it might be a fake (although I have not inspected it personally and should withhold judgment until I do).”²¹¹

I was able to examine the new figure (*b*) and the piece in Berlin (*c*) within two days of each other in October 1996. Not only was there nothing about the condition of the surface to arouse my suspicion, but I was able to see clear ghosts of once-painted eyes and, most significantly, vertical stripes of red between the breasts of both works²¹²—four on *b* and three on *c*, with space for a probable fourth, which, if originally present, would have worn off without leaving a trace.²¹³ In addition, on both figures there are clearly visible green spots in the area of one (*b*) or both (*c*) breasts, indicative of contact with copper objects.²¹⁴ This in turn suggests the possibility that both figures had been wrapped in cloth fastened with bits of copper, in imitation of and in the position where one would expect to find dress pins on actual clothing or a shroud.²¹⁵ In any event, lest Renfrew or anyone else, on the basis of photographs, also wonder about the new figure (whose hands are in a position even more like those of the Athens figure [*d*] than those of the Berlin sculpture), this evidence

should put any doubts to rest, and at the same time underscore the importance of close examination of all works before aspersions are cast upon them or, as my own *mea culpas* will soon reveal, before they are accepted as unquestionably genuine. Indeed, one is rarely presented with such palpable evidence of authenticity as that seen on the two pieces of the Berlin Sculptor. Ironically, the figure in Athens, which may have had similar painted details and even copper spots, was at some time, presumably soon after it was found, harshly cleaned with acid in an effort to remove hard deposits that had formed on the front. This had the effect of obliterating any fragile evidence of painting that might have been present upon its recovery and of seriously diminishing the crispness and clarity of the details, which, as a result, now appear to contrast sharply with those of *b* and *c*, which have not been seriously tampered with.

It is time now to consider figure *a* and the figure found on Naxos that, as I mentioned, is very much like it [6]. Unfortunately I am not able to show it here, but it has at least been illustrated elsewhere in front and three-quarter views. Figure *a*, which has a length of only 22.7 cm, is likely to have been carved before the other, which measures 30 cm. And while I believe it is possible to show that *a* belongs to an early phase of the Berlin Sculptor's development, made before his idiosyncratic style had come fully into its own, the figure on Naxos is actually slightly more advanced and gives a clearer indication of being related to his later work.

These images have a head that, from the front and back, is shaped very much like that of *b*; in profile it is rather thick, but it bends back at the crown in a bold manner that foreshadows the attenuated head of *d*. The very shallow chin marked by a straight groove, and the low curving neckline (more graceful on [6]), hallmarks of the later style, are already very much present on these early works, as is the long aquiline nose, although it is proportionally thicker and extends to a lower point on the face. Other points of strong resemblance are the projection of the elbows, the large pubic triangle with its apex bisected by the leg-cleft, and, on the rear, the spine that begins above the imaginary apex of the oblique neck grooves (although this is not clearly visible in pl. 89a2). Finally, a comparison of the profiles of *a* and *b* will reveal similar contours through the legs with their thickened calves and ankles; and whereas the buttocks of *a* are virtually nonexistent, those of [6] closely resemble those of *b*.

The major differences to be noted between the two smaller early works and the three mature large ones are, on the former, the straighter (actually convex) shoulders, with a conventional angular transition to the neck, the absence of articulated hands, the

unindented waist, and the dramatic depiction of pregnancy. All of these differences can be understood as part of the developmental process. For example, one can readily imagine the sculptor dropping the shoulders in time: markedly sloping shoulders provide the forcefulness of length without the need for excessive upper body width. This would have been important to the carver interested in making larger, more elongated images. It is interesting to note that the shoulder width of *a* is proportionally about the same as that of *b*. As for the rendering of the arms without hands, this is to be expected: there was not enough space on such small works for the accurate incision of fingers. And whereas the smaller of the two early sculptures has very narrow forearms, those of the larger are proportionally thicker and actually widen subtly at the ends, the right one petering out on the body well before the edge, in a way that clearly foreshadows the hands of those works large enough to have incised fingers. The depiction of an advanced stage of pregnancy on the early works—quite unusual for the Dokathismata variety—was abandoned by the sculptor in favor of a more moderate representation on *b* and *d* and a flat abdomen on *c*. Probably this modification gave the sculptor greater freedom to produce a more stylized, elongated image without sacrificing any of its symbolic value. Whether a figure was shown in what we would consider a relatively early or an advanced pregnant state was probably immaterial. The notion of pregnancy is in any case reinforced on the sculptor's mature works by the subtle curve of the right forearm with its downturned hand.

The very important addition to the Berlin Sculptor's body of work of the new figure—the earliest known piece in the sequence of images rendered in his fully developed style—I believe provides a persuasive link connecting the smaller, more conventional pieces and the more daringly stylized works previously identified. As a result, we now have a good idea of how this artist evolved into a highly accomplished expert with superior control of his material.

THE LOUVRE SCULPTOR (PLS. 91–94, 96A; CHECKLIST PP. 169, 187)

Of the sixteen figure-makers discussed in detail in *Sculptors*, we have looked quite closely here at ten, additional works attributable to their hands having prompted further study leading to a new understanding of aspects of their artistic development. We come now to our final sculptor and the only partly problematic one of the sixteen.

It has become necessary to delete from this Chalandriani variety

sculptor's list of works as many as four complete figures I had previously ascribed to him, including his name-piece (pl. 95), because I have come to regard them as forgeries.²¹⁶ As a result, this artist, formerly called the Stafford Master,²¹⁷ should now be known as the Louvre Sculptor, after the figure in [plate 91c](#), and his style redefined. These are the unfortunate developments. On the positive side, at least three works—a complete figure and two torso fragments—can be added to the sculptor's depleted body of work, and, as we shall see, these additions are important for an understanding of his style.

Before focusing on the genuine works and the style of the Louvre Sculptor, I would like to discuss the false works of the erstwhile Stafford Master and the reasons for this drastic change of opinion—especially my opinion of the Stafford piece, which I have published several times, and glowingly.

By the time I came to write this book, I was aware of a fifth work to add to the four already mentioned. Together the five form a homogeneous group: all the works are complete, except for minor losses; four have similar, uniformly distressed surfaces; and they vary only minimally in size—from 26.8 cm to 29.0 cm. Not only in their size and completeness, but also in their outline contours, the five works are nearly indistinguishable from the Louvre figure (L 27 cm; compare pls. 95 and 96a). The same is true of their profiles and of all internal details, except that some of them have a more clearly defined nose and, most telling, on at least four of them²¹⁸ the forearms are identically treated in a manner quite different from that of any of the genuine works illustrated in [plate 91](#) and attributed now to the artist renamed the Louvre Sculptor. I return to this point later. Finally, it must be mentioned that at least three of the five works have a French connection; I do not know enough about the others to say whether they do or not. Nor do I know when the former name-piece entered the Stafford Collection, but it was acquired and first photographed in France; it was first published in 1954.²¹⁹

With the addition of the fifth figure, the homogeneity of the group in so many respects began to strike me as highly suspicious. The fact that the five figures are nearly identical in length to the Louvre figure was cause for alarm in itself, given what we know about size variation within an individual's body of work. And yet, if these pieces were forgeries, how, I wondered, could one explain their perfect form—their uncanny resemblance in nearly every respect to the figure in the Louvre.²²⁰

It seemed unlikely that the Louvre sculpture, acquired in 1913, could have been copied either from photographs or from sketches made in the museum gallery, which at the time in question was poorly

lit. True profile and rear views of the work were not published until *Sculptors* appeared in 1987. The way it was displayed, moreover, it could not have been studied from all angles, or accurately measured.

The only way to account for the closeness of the resemblance was to suggest that the five figures were copies based not on the original in the Louvre, but on an exact full-size replica of it. Confirmation for this idea came from the museum: such reproductions have been available for purchase since 1932![221](#)

Further grounds for condemning the group came from isotopic signature analysis. The Stafford figure and one other from the suspect group ([chart E:1, 3](#)) were found to have signatures and grain sizes consistent with field samples of lychnites marble from Paros, while a third member of the group is made of marble that could have come from Paros or possibly from Melanes on Naxos ([chart E: 2](#)). To my knowledge, no certainly genuine Cycladic figure tested to date has clearly been shown to be carved from Parian marble, although a large number of obvious forgeries from the 1960s appear to be made of it.[222](#)

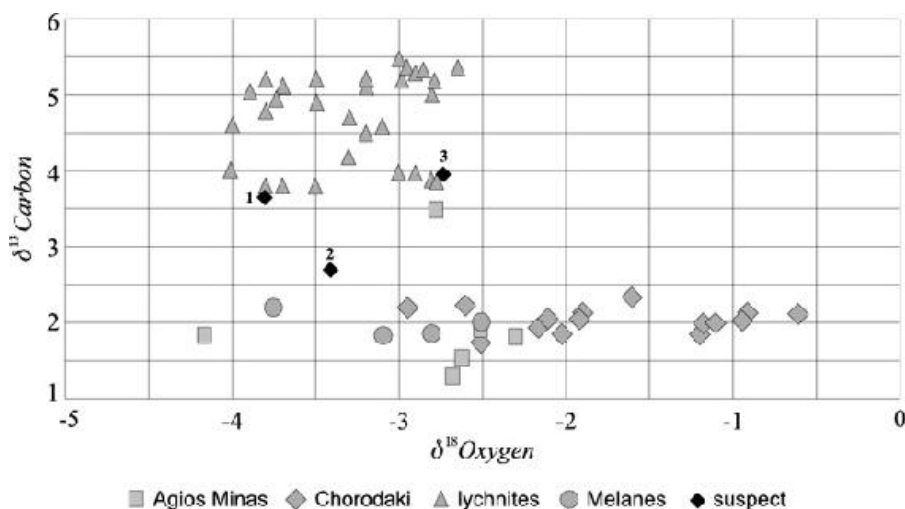


Chart E. Isotopic signatures of suspect works plotted on marble fields of Paros and Naxos

Marble from the ancient lychnites mine (east of Marathi) would have been easily available to anyone, since it could be found both inside one of the disused shafts and lying about in blocks and pieces outside. Open pit quarries in the area of Agios Minas nearby were in operation until the mid-1980s, yielding partly lychnites-type marble, and it appears that the marble-rich fields of Chorodaki (or Heridakion, southwest of Marathi) have also been worked during this century.[223](#) No doubt Parian sculptors of the EC period—perhaps especially in the

EC I phase—would have used local marble, but so far this has not been investigated. Indeed, I am not aware of any folded-arm figures definitely found on Paros, even though a number of such images are said to have been found there. Conceivably, none were made on the island. Parian marble has long had the reputation of being the most desirable Cycladic marble, but this reputation may not have extended back as far as the Bronze Age. Not many genuine EC figures have been tested, to be sure, apart from those attributed to the Goulandris Sculptor, but those that have appear to be overwhelmingly of Naxian marble.²²⁴ The three genuine works attributed to the Louvre Sculptor that have been tested all have isotopic signatures and grain sizes consistent with field samples from southeast Naxos ([chart D: g-i](#)).

As for the possibility that one of the suspect works could be made of Melanes marble, it should be noted that although material from that site was used in ancient times and possibly even in the Early Bronze Age, it has also been quarried recently. (The same is true of marble from Apollonas on Naxos.) In this century, Melanes marble was first extracted around 1960–62, continuing through the 1970s.²²⁵

It appears, then, that the replica-based copies of the Louvre figure were made in Greece, very likely commissioned by someone in Paris. Although an earlier date is possible, I suspect that this arrangement began around 1950 and continued into the 1970s. Of the five suspect figures, only the Stafford piece can be traced back as far as the 1950s.

My first acquaintance with the Stafford figure was through an excellent “artistic” photograph taken under dramatic lighting that broke up the homogeneously “weathered” surface with shadows. At the time, I was under the impression that the earliest forgeries of Cycladic sculpture entered the market only around 1960, followed by a veritable deluge soon after. Because the Stafford piece had been exhibited and published in 1954 and was thought to have belonged to a collector who died six years before that, it simply did not occur to me that there might be anything wrong with it. Indeed, I was so taken with its photographic image—with the elegant, expansive curve of the outline of the upper part and especially with the beautifully articulated forearms—that when, in 1983, I actually saw it for the first time, I failed to examine it critically. What did strike me, however, was how similar in style this work was to the figure in the Louvre. Before the idea of replica-copying came to me some years later, it did not cross my mind that this piece and the others like it could be anything other than works of the same sculptor: it did not seem possible that anyone else could have repeated the highly idiosyncratic profile of the Louvre image so convincingly. I even went so far as to suggest that, of the two works, the Stafford figure was the more

refined. And, at the time, I believed that the damaged forearms of the Louvre figure had originally been rendered in the same lovely way.²²⁶ With the recent removal of the old plaster restoration (pls. 91c, 92b), it has become very clear that they were not—that, in fact, the Louvre Sculptor appears not to have been as accomplished as I had earlier thought. As we shall see, he had difficulty with the forearms and seemed unable (or at least unwilling to make the effort) to draw them in the conventional fashion; an elegant portrayal was evidently beyond him. On the museum replicas of the Louvre figure, the forearms are rather vaguely indicated as two close-spaced parallel lines (pl. 96b).²²⁷ My guess is that the clever copyist felt he could improve on that rendering to enhance the appearance of his work. Eventually a close inspection of the photographs and, in 1997, a careful examination of the Stafford piece itself led me to the conclusion that those lovely forearms I had been taken in by were incised *after* the marble had been distressed!²²⁸ So much, then, for the wisdom of basing judgments, favorable or negative, solely on photographs. Properly chastened and with the Stafford Master best forgotten, let us return to the Louvre Sculptor.

In *Sculptors* I somewhat tentatively identified the figure illustrated in [plate 91a](#) as an early work of our sculptor, even though in a number of obvious ways it was unlike the other figures attributable to him. I had been hoping that one day an image would come to light that might confirm this identification. Happily, I believe that has happened, in the form of a small, previously unpublished figure that surfaced recently after a long “dormancy” in a private collection. The work is illustrated in [plate 91b](#). It is my opinion that it provides an important link between *a* and the name-piece (*c*).

Despite their differences, the three works share certain unmistakable stylistic traits, including the long nose that gradually merges with the flat plane of the basically triangular face, although on top *a* is straight, *b* very slightly curved, and *c* more strongly curved; the very shallow chin and the continuous outline curve of the neck and shoulders, very much reminiscent of the Berlin Sculptor’s style; the wide-spaced breasts; the broad pubic triangle with the apex bisected by the simple incised legcleft; and, on the rear, the absence of any markings except the leg division (pl. 94). Insofar as they are preserved, these same features are found also on the two torso fragments, *d* and *e*²²⁹—the latter not known to me until recently—and on another unpublished example, which I had formerly overlooked, from the archaeological investigations on Keros [4].

The new figure, *b*, also exhibits the same broad, sharply angular shoulders as *c* (although it is proportionally broader) and the three

fragments, and virtually the same modeling (pl. 93). Note especially the distinctive contours of the feet, with their high and pronounced heels. In profile, *a* clearly lacks the forceful, idiosyncratic modeling seen on the other works, and yet, for all its apparent blandness, a close comparison of the contours shows that they contain a hint of things to come, especially in the line of the head and neck. It appears that the feet were reworked into their present form because of damage incurred during carving. As a result, they resemble the feet of *b* and *c* less than they might have if they had been fashioned according to the sculptor's original intention. The new work, *b*, has in common with the lanky figure, *a*, incompletely extended forearms in the left-below-right position and elbows that project to a greater degree than those of *c* and the three torsos.²³⁰

I suspect that the Louvre Sculptor carved *a* and *b* before his style was fully formed, and yet *b* displays much of the robustness and the taut lines of *c*, which is considerably larger and appears more mature. On the earlier works one can see how he grappled with the problem of folding the arms while keeping the elbows level: whereas *a* reads clearly, on *b* he appears to have added the unequal finger lines to mask his own confusion, or at least the confusion he had inadvertently caused by allowing the incisions to run on beyond their appointed boundaries, effectively cutting off the elbows (pl. 92a).²³¹ Quite possibly the Louvre Sculptor was left-handed. If so, that could have exacerbated his difficulties in following convention, for, as mentioned earlier, it is likely that the strictly observed right-below-left arrangement was the creation of right-handed sculptors—probably in the majority—who found it easier to carve the arms that way. The Louvre Sculptor, who worked at a time when conformity was no longer required, evidently went on to solve (or, more accurately, to avoid) his problems by using the greatly simplified device of indicating the forearms with two parallel lines instead of the usual three (*c*, *d*, *e*, and [4]), and keeping the elbows close to the body, where they can seem quite unrelated to the forearms. We now know that the arms of *c* are indicated in much the same way as on the torsos, but with the difference that the sculptor took care to tie the lower arm line to the elbows (pl. 92b).

It is perhaps no coincidence that the rather schematic solution, and even the fully articulated arms of *b*, when considered together with the very broad top line of the pubis, closely resemble a series of abdominal grooves. On *b*, *c*, and *d*, the spacing of the arm and pubic lines was made deliberately equal in order to amplify the visual illusion of bands or skin folds.

Although they have certain unmistakable things in common, the three complete pieces now attributable to the Louvre Sculptor are by

no means identical to each other. In fact, quite the opposite is true. This, and not the appearance of having been deliberately cloned, as seen in the replica-based copies, is what one should expect in the work of any Cycladic sculptor, especially in cases where we have very few examples and those few represent different stages of his development. The modest figure in [plate 91b](#) is a major addition to the Louvre Sculptor's small body of known works, just as the new additions to the Bastis or the Berlin Sculptors' limited oeuvres are important. Such images, which appear to represent stages of development not encountered before, allow us to make connections and to perceive the range of variation within the elements of a sculptor's personal style.

AN ENDING FOR A WORK IN PROGRESS

The sculptors discussed in this study were part of a centuries-long continuum. Among them, I believe, are most of the major figure-makers of the EC period. Whether or not they were accorded any special status, these carvers would have held an important place and served an important function in the island culture. Just as their styles can be recognized today, so, too, the works of at least the most popular—the best?—and most productive sculptors would have been well known and doubtless prized by their fellow islanders. They would have known their makers' names, of course, and recognized their distinctive styles, and they would have had no need to see an actual signature or equivalent mark in order to identify their works.

I doubt that a significant number of sculptors remain unknown at this point, although some appear to be represented by a single, or only part of a single, work. This may be true, or it may be that we are simply not yet able to connect such pieces to carvers already identified but as yet imperfectly understood. Clearly, we still do not have all or, with the possible exception of the Goulandris Sculptor, even most of the works made by the artists we have come to know quite well. This means that the picture I have offered here, although fuller than any before, is by no means complete. In a few weeks or months possibly, but certainly in a decade or two it will be possible to add to it, especially if archaeologists excavate the remaining EC sites.

By drawing attention to a large number of works and by examining a variety of personal styles and their development, it is my hope that this book has added to the understanding of EC sculpture and strengthened the reader's ability to identify the works of individuals. It is my hope, too, that looking closely at the images has made it possible to appreciate both the uniqueness and the interrelatedness of

the sculptors who made them, and to glimpse something of their working lives.

One aspect of the figure-making process that needs to be better understood, in my view, is the extent to which formulaic design models may have been involved. For this, as promised, I defer now to Jack de Vries.

CHAPTER FIVE

Pattern and Precision

Taking the Measure of Early Cycladic II Spedos Variety Figures

Jack de Vries

How great a role mathematics played in Cycladic sculpture, or, more precisely, whether specific systems of metrical proportioning were used to give form to the Cycladic folded-arm figure, is an intriguing question.²³² Kazimierz Majewski, in 1935, was the first scholar to write extensively about Cycladic sculpture (in Polish and therefore inaccessible for most readers), and he was the first to take note of the fact that certain figures, at least, appear to consist of parts that, in mathematical terms, were virtually equal. He ascribed these coincidences to a special sensitivity inherent in the culture.²³³

In her unpublished doctoral dissertation of 1972 and subsequent publications, Pat Getz-Gentle has suggested that these equivalent features, which are not based on anatomical verisimilitude, developed out of practical considerations.²³⁴ She regards the making of a Cycladic figure as a labor-intensive process that had a greater chance of success if forethought and the application of a deliberate plan informed at least the initial phases. Thus, she believes, the proportioning of the figures by means of simple formulae developed as an aid to guide the sculptor as he worked. In a society without writing, such a visual system would have provided a convenient form in which to pass on an important aspect of the sculptural tradition from teacher to student.

After studying a large number of figures, Getz-Gentle proposed that specific systems of proportion were used for the different types and varieties, with modifications of the basic systems by some individuals. To test the validity of Getz-Gentle's ideas, I have chosen in the present study to focus exclusively on the Spedos varieties. Coming as they do after the folded-arm figure had become well established and before strong stylization affected its form, the Early and Late Spedos varieties can be viewed as the most representative variations on the enduring theme of the folded-arm figure. They are also the varieties with the

largest number of works that have survived to the present in an intact or complete state.

Before describing my own methods, I would like to review Getz-Gentle's basic ideas concerning the planning of Spedos figures (fig. 40).²³⁵ On a piece of marble shaped to approximate the maximum dimensions of the image to be made, she proposes that the sculptor used as a starting point a median line on which compass-drawn arcs divide the length into four equal parts. The top arc (B) would have influenced the rounded contour of the top of the head, while the lowest arc (C) conforms to the end of the feet, which can also have a rounded contour as a result. Once the midpoint of the work (M) was determined, one arc was made to indicate the position of the shoulders (A1), and another to determine the level of the knees (A2). The midpoint could coincide with the bottom of the right forearm or with a point on the abdomen, and an arc passing through this point could help to describe the position of the elbows. The maximum width (virtually always at the shoulders), already roughly determined by the width of the raw material, was made to conform to one quarter of the length in many cases.

As Getz-Gentle indicates in the Preface, all previous inquiries into the use of mathematical models by Cycladic sculptors appear to have been based solely on the study of photographs, which, with the possible exception of those showing the most schematic figure types, cannot always be relied on to obtain accurate measurements. Distortions are most likely to occur at the ends of photographic images, because it is at the extremities of the actual images that changes of plane are most evident. Thus, the heads of Spedos figures tend to bend back at the crown, whereas their feet are more often than not brought forward. Distortions are likely to be more pronounced in front-view photographs of Early Spedos Style A figures than in photographs of Style B or Late Spedos figures with their straighter profiles.

Using a specially designed apparatus, I have, over a period of twelve years, studied eighty-five complete Spedos figures, spending several hours with each one. For each sculpture I recorded more than fifty measurements, which for the most part are accurate to within a millimeter, although slightly greater discrepancies may be involved in cases where restoration at points of fracture has altered the original dimensions. In developing the design for the measuring device, my primary concern was to be able to apply uniform criteria to every piece, so as to avoid the sort of variation and distortion inherent in a strictly two-dimensional record.

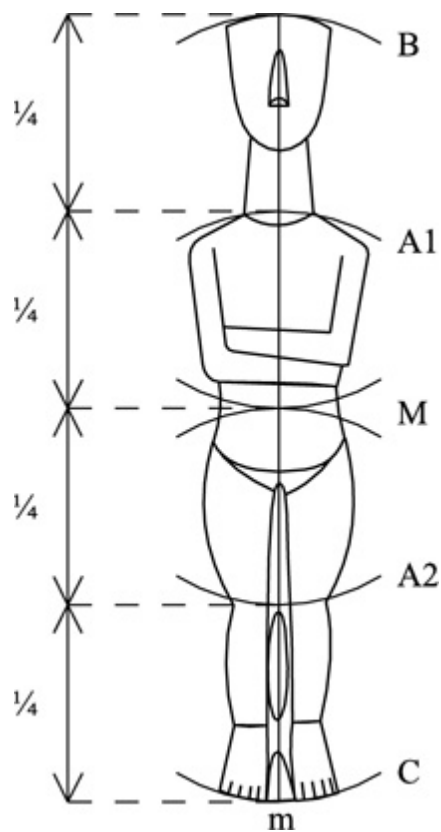


Fig. 40. The basic four-part plan

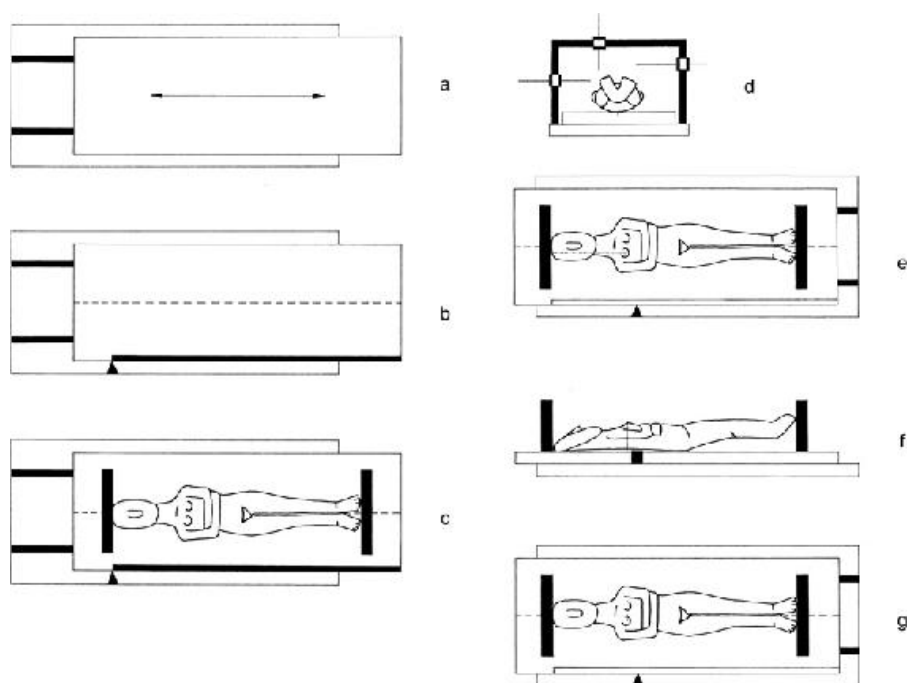


Fig. 41. The measuring apparatus

The apparatus consists of a wooden base provided with runners on which a platform holding the figure can be moved lengthwise (fig. 41: a). A ruler is fitted to this platform, allowing the distance from the top of the head to any other point to be read. The median line is also marked lengthwise on the platform (b) to facilitate the positioning of the figure, which is fixed in place between two verticals, with the top of the head coinciding with zero on the ruler (c). A superstructure with three measuring pins is fastened to the bottom of the base (d). The platform holding the figure can be positioned underneath and the pins moved both horizontally and vertically, making it possible to measure the distance from any point to the top of the head (e), from any point to the platform (f), and from any point to the median line (g). It must be noted that the apparatus cannot be used to take measurements of sculptures more than 76 cm long. For the few oversized works in the study, more conventional measuring methods were used, and great care was taken to ensure accuracy.

In order to determine the total or actual length of a figure, the distance between the verticals positioned at its extremities was measured. (This, of course, is the dimension normally given in publications, or at least it is the dimension intended. Often enough, however, figures have not been precisely measured using conventional methods.) If, however, one subscribes to Getz-Gentle's proportional system, it is necessary, in my opinion, to work not with the actual or

present length, but with a hypothetical or proportional length (fig. 42). Thus, while the actual length (aL) is the maximum length of the finished figure, the proportional length (pL) is the hypothetical length of the median line in the original design, which is to say the distance between arcs B and C in figure 40. Depending on the amount of curvature of the top of the head and the ends of the feet, the proportional length will always be greater than the actual length. Figures whose heads and/or feet are straighter will have a greater proportional length than those with a more pronounced curvature of the extremities. The difference between the actual and the proportional length is always small, as the reader can see from the dimensions given in tables VI–IX below. This I take as good evidence of the influence of the compass generally on the outline contours at either end of the images. Except in table VI, where I give figures based on both the actual and the proportional lengths, only the latter were used in the rest of the tables and in charts F and G.

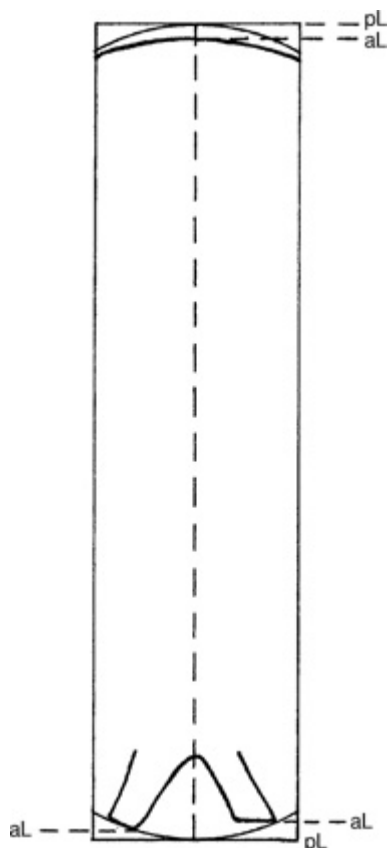


Fig. 42. Actual and proportional lengths

To use the measuring device in a consistent manner, each figure

was placed on its back in an unsupported position. As Getz-Gentle has already pointed out, some figures will touch a flat surface with the back of the head, the buttocks, and the heels, while others touch only with the head and the heels. The majority, however, make contact only with the head and the buttocks, with the feet raised above the flat surface (see, e.g., [fig. 17b](#)). No attempt was made in these cases to equalize the distance of the extremities from the flat surface by raising the head.

Among the eighty-five figures I have examined in detail, there are a significant number that Getz-Gentle has attributed to individual sculptors. The degree of variation in the proportions within the works of individual sculptors will be examined further on. For the purposes of the general study, I have reduced the number of figures to a statistically convenient fifty ([table IV](#)). Twenty-four of these can be characterized as belonging to the Early and twenty-six to the Late Spedos variety, although I should say at the outset that for the features scrutinized for the present study, I have found no significant differences among the various subdivisions of the Spedos variety. The figures vary in size from quite small to relatively colossal.[236](#) To my knowledge, each figure in the list, with one or possibly two exceptions,[237](#) represents the hand of a different sculptor. Finally, it should be noted that all the pieces in the list are either accessibly published elsewhere or illustrated here. In the case of works attributed to specific artists not shown in the present volume, a checklist reference is given, and the reader is asked to consult the appropriate list for publication information.

TABLE IV. The fifty Spedos variety figures referred to by number in charts F and G and tables V–IX

No.	Museum/acc. no.	Early/Late	cm	Publication/Checklist no.	Illustration
1	BM 84.12-13.11	E	14.6	Bent [3]	pl. 58b
2	Florence, MA 4251	L	15.4	ACC, no. 188	—
3	SCVA 345	L	15.6	SVCA Cat. 303	—
4	NPGM 309	L	15.6	Doumas 1963, no. 309	fig. 45
5	Berlin, SMPK 8267.3	L	16.5	ACC, no. 189	—
6	Bernoulli Coll.	L	16.6	ACC, no. 214	—
7	Amsterdam, APM 6209	E	16.6	Crouwel, no. A6	—
8	NPGM 104a	E	18.5	BMCat, no. 56	—
9	PColl	E	19.3	NAC, no. 47	—
10	Naxos, AM 4678	L	19.3	Zapheiropoulos, no. 4	—
11	ex Baker Coll.	L	20.1	NAC, no. 48	—
12	NAM 5107	L	20.6	Zervos, pl. 255	—
13	BM 1932.10.18	L	20.7	ACC, no. 183	—
14	Harrell Coll.	E	20.8	—	pl. 35
15	Harmon Coll.	E	22.0	—	pl. 34
16	Naxos, AM 4694	L	22.6	Zapheiropoulos, no. 5	—
17	Smithsonian	E	22.6	Israel Museum [2]	—
18	Fitzwilliam Gr.17.1924	E	23.9	ACC, no. 136	—
19	Bl. 63.67	E	24.4	ACC, no. 192	—
20	Harmon Coll.	E	24.4	Karo [3]	pl. 60c
21	Berlin, SMPK 8267.1	L	24.8	ACC, no. 187	—
22	NPGM 207	L	25.4	BMCat, no. 58	—
23	Berlin, SMPK 8267.2	E	25.4	ACC, no. 165	fig. 40
24	Fitzwilliam Gr.33.1901	E	25.7	Fitzwilliam [4]	—
25	NPGM 283	L	27.0	BMCat, no. 118	—
26	Harmon Coll.	E	27.3	—	pl. 37
27	Bernoulli Coll.	E	29.6	Scheffold no. 3	pl. 40a
28	Ash 178	E	31.0	<i>Emergence</i> , pl. 4a	—
29	VMFA 83.73	L	37.4	NAC, no. 57	—
30	NAM 6140.21	E	39.6	Zervos, pl. 114	—
31	Minneapolis 62.52	L	40.0	NAC, no. 49	—
32	NAM 6140.22	E	43.7	Zervos, pl. 115	—
33	NPGM 311	E	47.0	BMCat, no. 122	—
34	BM 1863.2-13.1	L	48.7	Fitton, figs. 51-52	pl. 39
35	Raleigh 86.5	L	50.5	Steiner [5]	—
36	Harmon Coll.	L	51.4	Naxos Museum [9]	—
37	NAM 3913	E	55.3	Zervos, pls. 300-301	—
38	Levy/White Coll.	E	56.8	Copenhagen [1]	pl. 63c
39	Naxos, AM 4148	L	58.0	Zapheiropoulos, no. 8	—
40	NAM 6195	L	58.2	Zervos, pl. 113	—
41	IUAM 76.25	L	60.2	Goulandris [25]	—
42	MMA 68.148	L	63.4	Basris [4]	pl. 77c
43	Honolulu 4386.1	L	64.1	NAC, no. 55	—
44	NPGM 304	L	65.5	BMCat, no. 175	—
45	NPGM 398	L	71.6	Naxos Museum [11]	fig. 35b
46	NPGM 282	E	74.0	Rodgers [3]	pl. 68c
47	BM 1971.5-21.1	E	76.8	ACC, no. 154	—
48	Harmon Coll.	E	86.8	Karlsruhe/Woodner [1]	pl. 64a
49	Harmon Coll.	E	132.0	<i>Sculptors</i> , pl. X	—
50	NAM 3878	E	148.3	Zervos, pl. 297	—

Although a number of scholars have considered or commented on the subject of proportional planning in Cycladic sculpture since Getz-Gentle published her ideas,²³⁸ I shall focus here on Renfrew's efforts in order to point up the difficulties involved in relying solely on a photographic record, as well as other factors that must be taken into account in a legitimate treatment of the subject. Renfrew's attitude strikes me as vacillatory, if not contradictory. For example, he states: "Naturally one cannot expect exactitude in the proportions of the finished figure. For even if the sculptor marked out the proportions on the rough block with very great care, by the time that the block had

been carved away to produce the finished figure, something of the original proportionality will have been lost.”²³⁹ Then, however, Renfrew proposes to test the idea of a consciously applied plan on a larger number of figures by allowing a margin of error “perhaps on the order of one percent or less.” I should like to point out what this “narrow latitude in adjustment” means in real terms. Consider the largest figure measured (no. 50; L 148.3 cm). One percent of its length would be 1.5 cm, while for a large figure of 50 cm, one percent of the length would be only 0.5 cm, and for an average-sized figure of 25 cm, the one percent difference would be 0.25 cm, both of which seem very little indeed. On the smallest works included in the study, this margin is reduced to 0.15 cm, or virtually nothing at all. And, while 1.5 cm might in the abstract seem significant, if one takes into consideration the great size of the work involved and the subtle changes of plane observable on it, one must ask if 1.5 cm is not under the circumstances really a negligible amount.

Before submitting a large array of measurements to “tests of probabilistic significance,” as Renfrew suggests is necessary, it is extremely important that one recognize the distinction between relative variation and variation in real terms. The sculptor of a Cycladic figure of any given length was involved with real variables and real values, not with relative ones. And if he was using a system of proportions simply to guide him as he worked (as Renfrew seems to acknowledge was the case), is it not essentially a subjective decision on our part, some 4500 years after the fact, just how far from his original plan we can allow him to stray on the finished figure before we are forced to conclude that he probably had no plan? In any event, it is my opinion that the proportioning and the deviations from a standard of proportions on the finished figure must be seen in relation to the variations in the size of the figures. It also seems necessary to adopt an arbitrary amount—a centimeter (which is considerably less than a finger’s width) seems to me to be about right—as a viable margin of error on smaller works and as a minimum viable margin on larger ones.

As a first step that he himself regards as merely “exploratory,” given the inevitability of photographic distortion, Renfrew offers a table of proportions for the twelve largest figures in the Goulandris Museum. Of these, eleven belong to the Spedos varieties. I have taken accurate measurements of nine of them, and I also have measurements of the largest work, very kindly taken for me at the museum. Converting Renfrew’s measurements to the metric system, which is far easier to use than the imperial system he favors, I offer a parallel version of this table, based on my own measurements ([table V](#)).

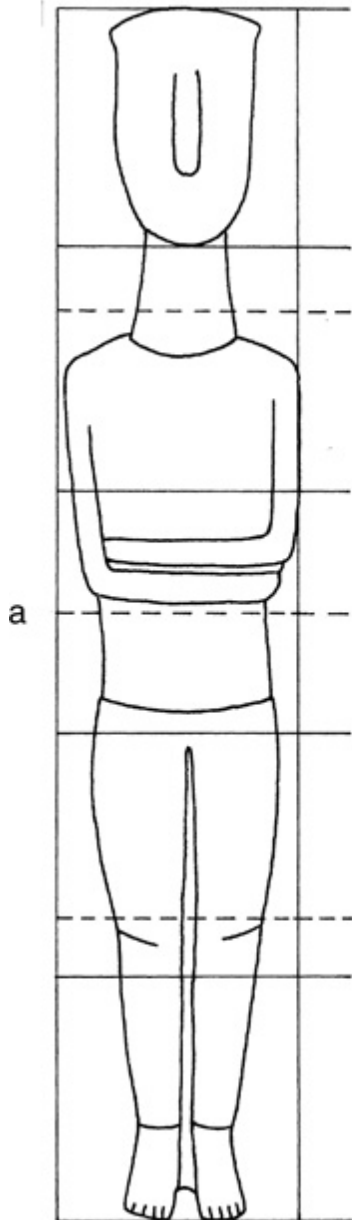
A few comments are in order. For example, Renfrew’s measurement

of the head of no. 44 (see [table IV](#)) is especially faulty ([fig. 43](#)). He gives the impression that its length is 13.1 cm when, in fact, the correct measurement is only 11.0 cm. Thus there is a discrepancy of 2.1 cm between his measurement, taken from a photograph, and mine, made on the piece itself. For the width, my measurement differs from Renfrew's by 1.7 cm. Although, for example, the discrepancies for no. 34 are far less critical, his raw data do not inspire confidence in his conclusions. Nevertheless, he does offer some ideas worth discussing.

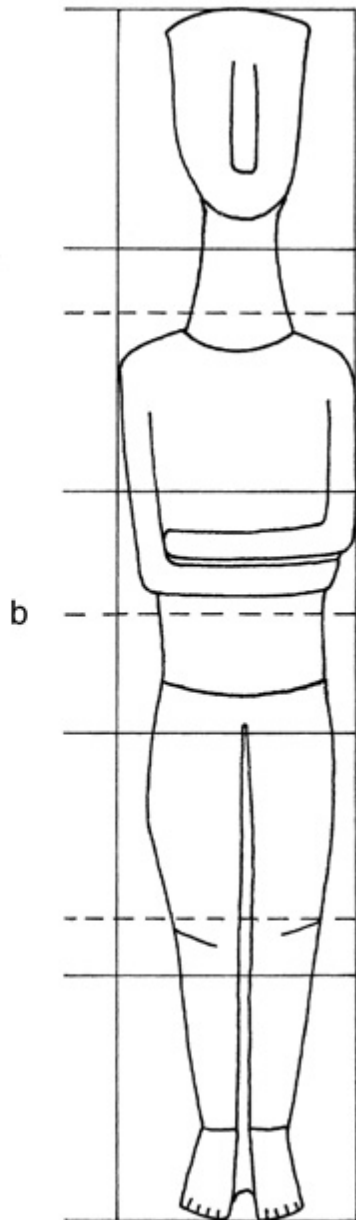
TABLE V. Ten figures: measurements of Renfrew and de Vries compared

NPGM no.	Table IV no.	T in inches: Renfrew	L in cm: Renfrew	L in cm: de Vries	Module of head as proportion of L: Renfrew	Head L (Renfrew's module) in cm	L of head in cm: de Vries	Deviation in cm: Renfrew/de Vries
251	—	13	33.02	32.70	c1/5	6.60	5.85	0.75
252	—	14	35.56	35.40	1/4	8.89	8.60	0.29
253	—	14 1/2	36.83	36.70	1/5	7.37	6.70	0.67
311	33	18 5/8	47.30	47.00	1/5	9.50	9.20	0.30
70	—	18 7/8	47.94	48.00	c1/6	7.99	9.00	1.01
281	—	25	63.50	63.30	1/6	10.58	10.10	0.48
304	44	25 13/16	65.56	65.50	1/5	13.11	11.00	2.11
598	45	28 5/16	71.91	71.60	1/6	11.99	11.60	0.39
282	46	29 5/16	74.45	74.00	c1/4	18.61	16.50	2.11
724*	—	55 1/8	140.00	140.00	1/5	28.00	29.00	1.00

*Measurements taken at NPGM for de Vries.



Renfrew



de Vries

Fig. 43. An example of Renfrew's "quintile modularity" based on measurements from photographs (a), corrected using direct measurements (b)

Renfrew's provisional conclusion appears to be that, within the Spedos variety, some figures were not consciously planned at all according to a repeated system, while others—the majority?—reveal the use of one of three modular systems: a quartile, a quintile, and a

sextile system, with the quartile apparently the most popular. In all these systems the modular unit is the length of the head, meaning that the sculptor would have begun the division of his marble block by marking off the head at the top. From this point, he would have worked his way down to the opposite end, after which he would have made the maximum width the equivalent of one head length. Besides the fact that Renfrew cannot demonstrate that the five divisions consistently fall at the same key points on the figures, there is, I believe, something fundamentally illogical in the idea of starting with the head, especially since the length of the figure to be made would have been predetermined by the length of the raw material. In addition to the fact that it is much more difficult to divide a given dimension into five equal parts than four, it makes sense to suppose that the sculptor's very first step in laying out his figure would have been to find the midpoint of the block.

While the head does indeed represent one-fifth or very close to one-fifth of the total length in nearly half of the fifty figures in [table IV](#) (for nos. 12 and 39, the head accounts for exactly one-fifth), it does not necessarily follow that these figures were designed in five parts, with the head serving as a module either for the longitudinal proportions or for the maximum width. If aspects of the body repeat the head length, this could simply demonstrate the natural inclination of artists—and indeed of human beings generally—to favor repetition. Within Getz-Gentle's proposed four-part plan, emanating from the center, there was also plenty of opportunity for such repetition to occur, but the important features on the outline—the shoulders, elbows/waist, and knees—appear to be defined in terms of equal units involving the head and neck, most of the torso, the lower torso and thighs, and the calves and feet. Within these essential units there was room for considerable variation. Thus, as Getz-Gentle has already indicated, if one element of a unit is elongated, the other is likely to be abnormally short: a very long head, for example, would be combined with a very short neck, a short lower torso with long thighs, short calves with long feet, and vice versa. And if Getz-Gentle is correct, a head that makes up one-fifth of the length would have a neck that is one-twentieth of the length, forming a head/neck unit of or close to one-quarter ([chart F](#)). It was the unit that served as a module, and not the individual components of the unit.

There were certainly practical advantages to using the center of the figure as the focal point, and practical advantages, too, to using a simple plan with an even number of units that could be determined with a simple compass made of string with a marking substance, whether a splinter of obsidian, flint, or emery, or a bit of charcoal or colorant, attached to one end.²⁴⁰ With this arrangement and a long

enough string, the sculptor would have had complete freedom and flexibility to impose his design on the block, regardless of the size of the image to be carved. Once the center had been found by halving the string, and the other key points determined by halving the string a second time, he could work from any of the four points at will and from either direction.

Supporting the supposition that the center of the figure was the focal point of the design is the fact that on the majority of the fifty works, the midpoint of the length coincides with the most prominent point on the abdomen (table VI). In the minority of the examples—chiefly Early Spedos Style B figures and figures with abbreviated mid-sections—which seem not to conform to this principle or not to conform closely, most are so flat through the mid-section that there is no obvious high point.²⁴¹ Put another way, what I determined to be the highest point on these works is only minimally different in height from adjacent areas, making the exact position of the highest point less important in those cases than in those where it is more clearly defined. Even so, the fact that the midpoint normally occurs somewhere on the abdomen is, I believe, significant in itself.

TABLE VI. Coincidence of the midpoint of the length and the highest point on the abdomen on 52 figures

No.	PR	aL	pL	ABD		DEV		No.	PR	aL	pL	ABD		DEV	
				aL	pL	aL	pL					aL	pL	aL	pL
1		14.6	15.1	7.5	7.6	0.2	0.1	25		27.0	27.3	13.0	13.0	0.5	0.7
2		15.4	15.7	7.8	7.8	0.1	0.1	26		27.3	27.5	13.3	13.3	0.4	0.5
3		15.6	15.9	7.1	7.2	0.7	0.6	27		29.6	30.0	15.0	15.2	0.2	0.2
4	*	15.6	15.9	8.0	8.0	0.2	0.1	28		31.0	31.3	15.3	15.3	0.2	0.4
4A ^b	*	16.0	16.3	8.4	8.4	0.4	0.3	29	*	37.4	37.8	19.3	19.5	0.6	0.6
5		16.5	16.7	8.9	8.9	0.7	0.6	30		39.6	40.2	19.8	20.0	0	0.1
6		16.6	16.9	8.0	8.0	0.3	0.5	31		40.0	40.4	18.7	18.7	1.3	1.5
7		16.6	17.0	8.5	8.5	0.2	0	32		43.7	44.0	20.3	20.3	1.5	1.7
8		18.5	18.8	10.1	10.1	0.9	0.7	33		47.0	47.5	23.5	23.7	0	0.1
9	*	19.3	19.5	10.0	10.0	0.4	0.3	34		48.7	49.1	25.1	25.1	0.8	0.6
10		19.3	20.0	9.0	9.3	0.7	0.7	35		50.5	50.7	24.2	24.2	1.0	1.2
11	*	20.4	21.0	11.0	11.2	0.8	0.7	36		51.4	51.8	28.4	28.5	2.7	2.6
12		20.6	21.0	10.7	10.7	0.4	0.2	37		55.3	55.8	27.1	27.1	0.5	0.8
13	*	20.7	21.0	10.7	10.7	0.4	0.2	38		56.8	57.1	28.5	28.5	0.1	0.1
14		20.8	21.4	10.7	10.9	0.3	0.2	39		58.0	58.5	31.4	31.4	2.4	2.3
15		22.0	22.3	11.0	11.0	0	0.3	40		58.2	58.5	30.4	30.4	1.3	1.2
16		22.6	23.0	12.1	12.1	0.8	0.6	41		60.2	60.7	28.8	28.8	1.3	1.6
17		22.6	23.0	10.3	10.3	1.0	0.8	42		63.4	64.2	27.0	27.4	4.7	4.7
17A ^b	*	23.8	24.1	12.3	12.3	0.4	0.3	43		64.1	64.4	32.1	32.1	0.1	0.1
18		23.9	24.5	11.0	11.3	1.0	0.9	44		65.5	65.8	34.5	34.5	1.8	1.6
19		24.4	24.9	12.3	12.5	0.1	0.1	45		71.6	71.7	37.3	37.3	1.5	1.5
20		24.4	24.6	12.4	12.4	0.2	0.2	46		74.0	74.4	33.7	33.7	3.3	3.5
21		24.8	25.1	14.0	14.0	1.6	1.5	47		76.8	77.3	36.6	36.8	1.8	1.8
22		25.4	25.7	12.9	12.9	0.2	0.1	48		86.8	87.1	43.5	43.5	0.1	0.1
23		25.4	25.7	12.5	12.5	0.2	0.4	49		132.0	132.5	54.1	54.1	11.9	12.1
24		25.7	26.0	12.9	12.9	0.1	0.1	50		148.3	148.7	69.5	69.5	4.7	4.9

Note: All measurements are in cm rounded off to the nearest mm.

a. SCVA Cat., no. 297

b. Fitzwilliam Sculptor [3]

Key:

PR: pregnant

aL: actual length

pL: proportional length

ABD: distance from top of head to highest point on abdomen

DEV: deviation of the highest point from the mid-point

For us, the highest point may seem to be no more than the logical center of the composition, however inaccurate this might be anatomically, since the actual midpoint on the average woman occurs lower on the body. For the makers and users of the images, it seems only natural that the highest point would have been viewed as the symbolic center of life itself, especially given the emphasis on the forearms, which also draw attention to and sometimes even cover the middle of the figures. A more persuasive test of the importance of the center, then, would be to determine where the highest point occurs on those figures that are represented as clearly pregnant. I have accurately measured five of these works (nos. 4, 9, 11, 13, and 29) and for two others have studied profile-view photographs that appear to have been taken in true perspective (4A and 17A in [table VI](#)). In all these examples the most prominent point on the abdomen is indeed also very close to the figure's center, the deviation amounting to less than 1 cm in every case ([fig. 44](#)).

Given the evident importance of the center, it is time now to test other aspects of the hypothetical four-part plan for consistency of

application. In tables VII and VIII and charts F and G, the amount of deviation from the ideal standard, based on the proportional length, is given for three proportions of each of the fifty figures. These include the marking of the first quarter at the neck, the marking of the third quarter at the knees, and the maximum width (at the shoulders) of onequarter of the length. In the tables, the deviations are expressed in centimeters, rounded off to the nearest millimeter; in the charts they are expressed graphically, with the length of each work reduced to a uniform size to facilitate comparison.

Altogether, if one includes the figures in [table VI](#), 202 proportions and their deviations are given for the fifty sculptures. Of these, 150 amount to 1 cm or less, with 95 of the 150 amounting to 5 mm or less.²⁴² Among the remaining deviations that are greater, a number can be accounted for. I have already mentioned the absence of a definitive high point on some figures, and Getz-Gentle has noted the tendency among Cycladic sculptors to decrease the width of their images in proportion to their length when making them very large. This can be clearly seen in [chart G](#) and does not indicate a faulty application of the formula but rather a deliberate modification of it based on practical considerations that evidently took precedence.

Of the four proportions scrutinized here, the top unit (head/neck) and the bottom one (calves/feet) are perhaps the least affected by special factors ([table VII](#), [chart G](#)), although it is at the ends of a figure that adjustments of the length were sometimes necessary because of accidental damage or sculptor error. I have avoided figures that appear to have been reworked (and consequently shortened), such as those illustrated in figures 22 and 23. Therefore, although I may not have avoided some subtler examples of reworking, one should find less deviation from the standard in the first and fourth quarters than in the position of the center or the width, at least among the fifty figures included in this study. For the head/neck, then, six of the fifty figures show deviations that exceed 1 cm, and four of those and the largest ones (i.e., 1.6–2.7 cm) occur on figures with a length of more than 63 cm. In the case of the largest works (nos. 49 and 50), the deviation amounts to 2 percent or less of the length. Looking at the deviation at the level of the knees, eleven of the fifty works show a discrepancy of more than 1 cm, with five of those exceeding 2 cm. Again, these larger deviations occur on larger figures, meaning that in relative terms they seem not so very significant. The largest deviations—3.5 cm (no. 38) and 3.4 cm (no. 45)—are 6.1 percent and 3.9 percent of the length, respectively.

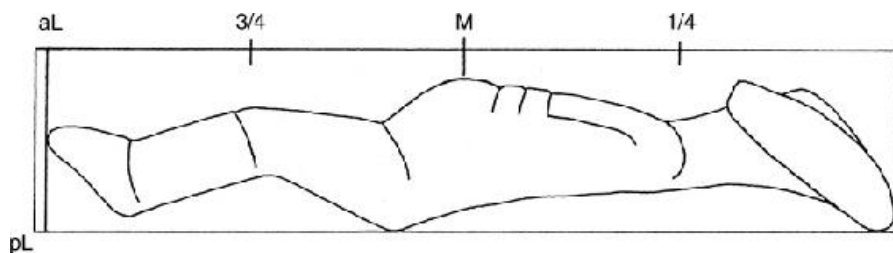


Fig. 44. The four-part planning of a pregnant figure, showing the midpoint (M) as the highest point on the abdomen

Given the high proportion—74 percent—of the deviations that fall within a margin of error of 1 cm or less, I think it only fair to say that the four-part plan was used by many, perhaps even most, Spedos variety sculptors to guide them in laying out and carving their works. Certainly some figures were more accurately executed according to the plan than others, which suggests a degree of variability in the extent to which their makers followed it. By this I mean that sometimes the plan may have been followed only through the roughing-out phase; in other cases it may have been followed all the way through to the marking of the details on the surface.

Practiced sculptors probably came to rely less and less on a precise demarcation of the units during the carving of their figures, which might account for some greater deviations in actual amounts on larger, more mature works. Compare, for example, the neck divisions on the smaller and larger works of the Steiner Sculptor or the knee levels on the works of the Rodgers Sculptor as they increase in size ([table IX](#)). Although I did not measure the figure shown in [plate 68a](#), because its feet are partly missing, a close study of the photographs has enabled me to reconstruct its original actual length and, from it, the proportional length, and then to work out the proportions. (The profile view proved especially helpful in this regard.) Of the three works attributed by Getz-Gentle to the Rodgers Sculptor, this one, the smallest, shows at once the closest adherence to the four-part standard and the least refinement in other respects. Although one would need many more works from the different developmental phases of individual sculptors in order to draw a valid conclusion, it would appear that in refining their styles and unconsciously asserting their individuality, the four-part plan may have been more loosely followed or even deliberately modified by some sculptors as they matured. The largest work of the Rodgers Sculptor is clearly his finest known effort, yet it is the one that diverges most from the standard.²⁴³

For the works attributable to particular artists, one should look at both the amount of deviation from the standard, especially for the neck and knee divisions, and the amount of the discrepancy between

the deviations to see if any patterns are evident. One might expect the discrepancy to be quite small on works laid out in the same way by one person. And, predictably, the discrepancies tend to be smallest among the images of carvers who worked on a more modest and consistently similar scale (table IX: Bent and Karo Sculptors). On those, too, one may note the closeness of the shoulder width to the standard and the minimal discrepancies in the deviations.

If one looks at the works of the Goulandris Sculptor, for whom we have the most information, it is of interest to note that only on his smallest work (and on no. 4, which might be from his hand) is the head/neck unit slightly longer and the knee level slightly higher than the standard, whereas on the rest of the figures measured the opposite is true. While one could argue that these differences are fortuitous, it is also possible that they represent developmental differences, entailing minor adjustments in the application of the formula. It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that the same phenomenon can be seen in the work of the Karo Sculptor.

TABLE VII. Deviation of divisions at the neck and knees from a standard four-part plan

No.	al.	pl.	pl. head/neck	DEV from 1/4 pl.	pl. head to knees	DEV from 3/4 pl.	No.	al.	pl.	pl. head/neck	DEV from 1/4 pl.	pl. head to knees	DEV from 3/4 pl.
1	14.5	15.1	3.7	0.1	10.9	0.4	26	27.3	27.5	7.1	0.2	20.8	0.2
2	15.4	15.7	4.3	0.4	11.0	0.8	27	29.6	30.0	7.2	0.3	22.4	0.1
3	15.6	15.9	3.9	0.1	12.3	0.4	28	31.0	31.3	7.5	0.3	23.0	0.5
4	15.6	15.9	3.6	0.4	11.6	0.3	29	37.4	37.8	10.0	0.5	28.8	0.4
5	16.5	16.7	4.9	0.7	12.6	0.1	30	39.6	40.2	10.0	0.1	31.2	1.0
6	16.6	16.9	4.3	0.1	12.2	0.5	31	40.0	40.4	11.1	1.0	30.4	0.1
7	16.6	17.0	3.5	0.8	11.5	1.3	32	43.7	44.0	11.3	0.3	31.6	1.4
8	18.5	18.8	5.2	0.5	13.9	0.2	33	47.0	47.5	12.5	0.6	36.1	0.7
9	19.3	19.5	5.2	0.4	14.8	0.2	34	48.7	49.1	12.6	0.4	36.1	0.6
10	19.3	20.0	4.6	0.4	14.5	0.5	35	50.5	50.7	13.1	0.4	37.3	0.7
11	20.4	21.0	6.1	0.9	15.4	0.4	36	51.4	51.8	14.0	1.0	36.8	2.1
12	20.6	21.0	5.6	0.4	15.2	0.6	37	55.3	55.8	13.3	0.7	44.2	2.3
13	20.7	21.0	5.2	0.1	15.6	0.2	38	56.8	57.1	15.5	1.2	46.3	3.5
14	20.8	21.4	5.3	0.1	16.1	0.1	39	58.0	58.3	15.9	1.3	42.9	0.8
15	22.0	22.3	5.7	0.1	15.4	1.3	40	58.2	58.5	14.3	0.3	43.5	0.4
16	22.6	23.0	6.0	0.3	16.9	0.4	41	60.2	60.7	14.2	1.0	46.4	0.9
17	22.6	23.0	5.2	0.6	16.5	0.8	42	63.4	64.2	14.3	1.8	47.4	0.8
18	23.9	24.5	6.2	0.1	19.2	0.8	43	64.1	64.4	17.7	1.6	48.4	0.1
19	24.4	24.9	6.6	0.4	17.6	1.1	44	65.5	65.8	16.9	0.4	49.1	0.3
20	24.4	24.6	6.1	0.1	18.7	0.3	45	71.6	71.7	18.7	0.8	54.7	0.9
21	24.8	25.1	7.3	1.0	18.7	0.1	46	74.0	74.4	19.0	0.4	52.7	2.9
22	25.4	25.7	6.5	0.1	19.4	0.1	47	76.8	77.3	18.5	0.8	59.0	1.0
23	25.4	25.7	5.8	0.6	19.3	0	48	86.8	87.1	21.4	0.4	68.7	3.4
24	25.7	26.0	6.4	0.1	19.1	0.4	49	132.0	132.5	30.4	2.7	98.0	1.4
25	27.0	27.3	7.0	0.2	20.0	0.3	50	148.3	148.7	34.7	2.5	113.6	2.1

Note: All measurements are in cm rounded off to the nearest mm.

Key:

al.: actual length

pl.: proportional length

Each new image represented a fresh application of the formula; each piece of marble provided the sculptor with a fresh opportunity

and a fresh challenge. It seems only natural that in using the design formula as a guide—and Getz-Gentle has always maintained that it was no more than that—a sculptor's application would vary slightly from piece to piece. Sometimes he might fall slightly short of a mark; at other times he might exceed it. Although a certain amount of consistency can be observed in the works of the individual sculptors presented in [table IX](#), a degree of inconsistency is also observable and to be expected. The sculptors were not carving machines: neither their hands nor their tools were infallible, and the marble they selected may at times have contained hidden flaws.

TABLE VIII. Deviation of shoulder width from a standard one-quarter of the proportional length

No.	al.	pl.	Max. W	Standard max. W	Dev. ^a	No.	al.	pl.	Max. W	Standard max. W	Dev. ^a
1	14.6	15.1	4.0	3.7	0.2	26	27.3	27.5	7.6	6.9	0.4
2	15.4	15.7	4.5	3.9	0.3	27	29.6	30.0	7.9 ^b	7.5	0.2
3	15.6	15.9	5.4	4.0	0.7	28	31.0	31.3	9.3	7.8	0.8
4	15.6	15.9	4.8	4.0	0.4	29	37.4	37.8	10.5	9.5	0.5
5	16.5	16.7	4.7	4.2	0.3	30	39.6	40.2	7.2	10.1	1.5
6	16.6	16.9	5.0	4.2	0.4	31	40.0	40.4	10.9	10.1	0.4
7	16.6	17.0	4.8	4.3	0.3	32	43.7	44.0	8.7	11.0	1.2
8	18.5	18.8	6.0	4.7	0.7	33	47.0	47.5	9.8	11.9	1.2
9	19.3	19.5	5.8	4.9	0.5	34	48.7	49.1	12.2	12.3	0.1
10	19.3	20.0	5.7 ^b	5.0	0.4	35	50.5	50.7	12.9	12.7	0.1
11	20.4	21.0	6.4	5.3	0.6	36	51.4	51.8	13.0	13.0	0
12	20.6	21.0	6.0	5.3	0.4	37	55.3	55.8	8.7	14.0	2.7
13	20.7	21.0	6.2	5.3	0.5	38	56.8	57.1	12.6	14.3	0.9
14	20.8	21.4	6.3	5.4	0.5	39	58.0	58.3	12.9	14.6	0.9
15	22.0	22.3	6.5	5.6	0.5	40	58.2	58.5	13.8	14.6	0.4
16	22.6	23.0	7.0	5.8	0.6	41	60.2	60.7	15.4	15.2	0.1
17	22.6	23.0	4.9	5.8	0.5	42	63.4	64.2	10.9	16.1	2.6
18	23.9	24.5	6.1	6.1	0	43	64.1	64.4	17.8 ^b	16.1	0.9
19	24.4	24.9	6.1	6.2	0.1	44	65.5	65.8	12.7	16.5	1.9
20	24.4	24.6	6.7	6.8	0.3	45	71.6	71.7	12.2	17.9	2.9
21	24.8	25.1	8.4	6.3	1.1	46	74.0	74.4	15.7	18.6	1.5
22	25.4	25.7	8.2	6.4	0.9	47	76.8	77.3	19.4	19.3	0.1
23	25.4	25.7	5.7	6.4	0.4	48	86.8	87.1	21.9	21.8	0.1
24	25.7	26.0	6.7	6.5	0.1	49	132.0	132.5	18.3	33.1	7.4
25	27.0	27.3	7.8	6.8	0.5	50	148.3	148.7	23.3 ^a	37.2	7.0

Key:

Notes:

All measurements are in cm rounded off to the nearest mm.

a. Average deviation from standard per shoulder.

b. Maximum W estimated (shoulder[s] damaged—see chart G).

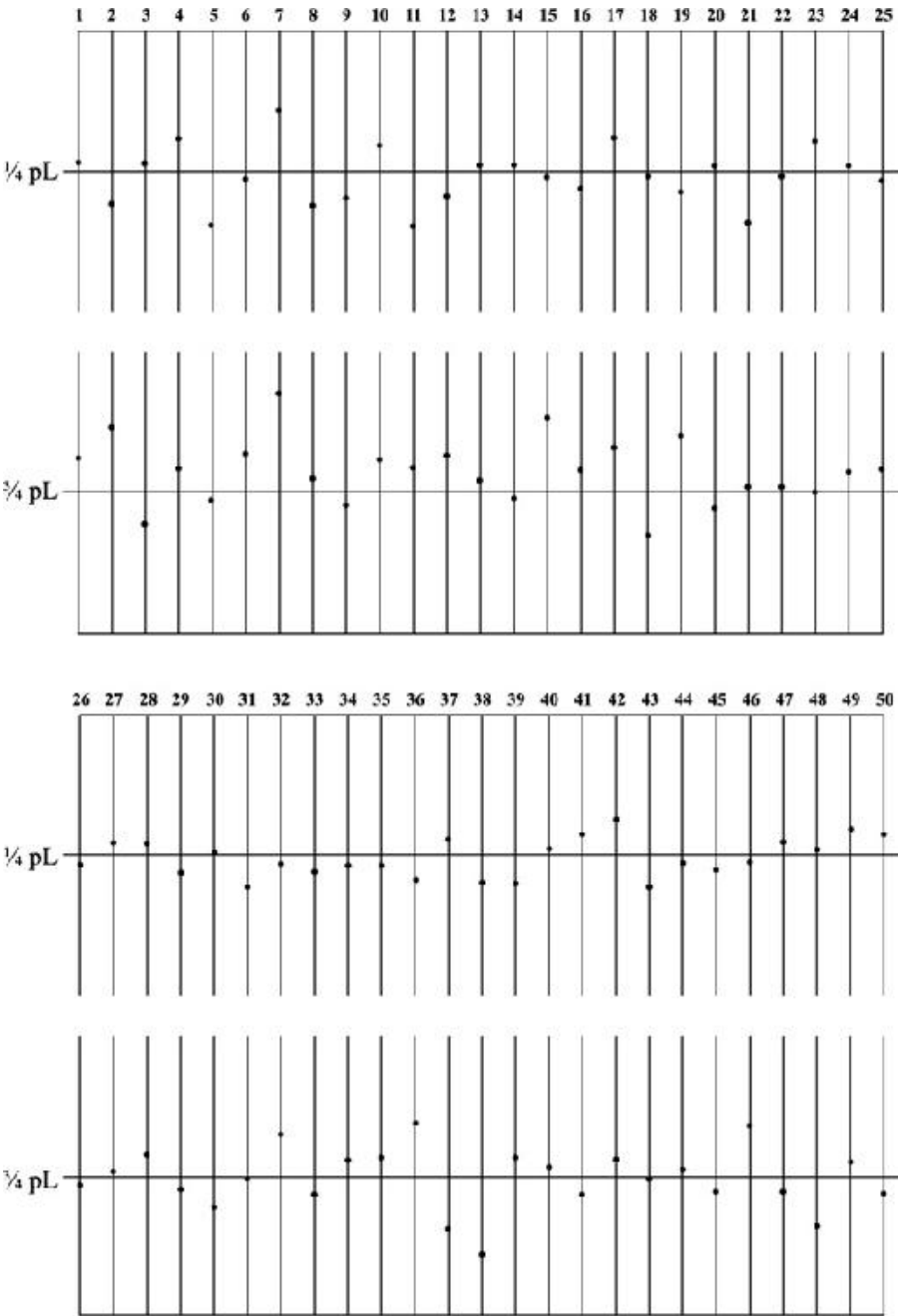
Key:

al: actual length

pl: proportional length

I believe my work demonstrates that the sculptors of Spedos variety figures did follow a simple four-part, compass-drawn formula, at least through the rough stages of the production process. It is this design which informs the styles of the individual sculptors and allows us to explain the close correspondence in the basic proportions of their works, even though these works were made over a span of some years, in a wide variety of sizes, and at different stages of development—and

even though to our eyes they might appear to differ more than the measurements indicate. I leave it to the reader to draw her or his own conclusions based on the measurements offered in this overview of my research.



Note: The deviations are based on an adjustment of each figure to a uniform pL of 15 cm. For numbers, see [table IV](#).

Chart F. Deviation of divisions at the neck and knees from a standard four-part plan

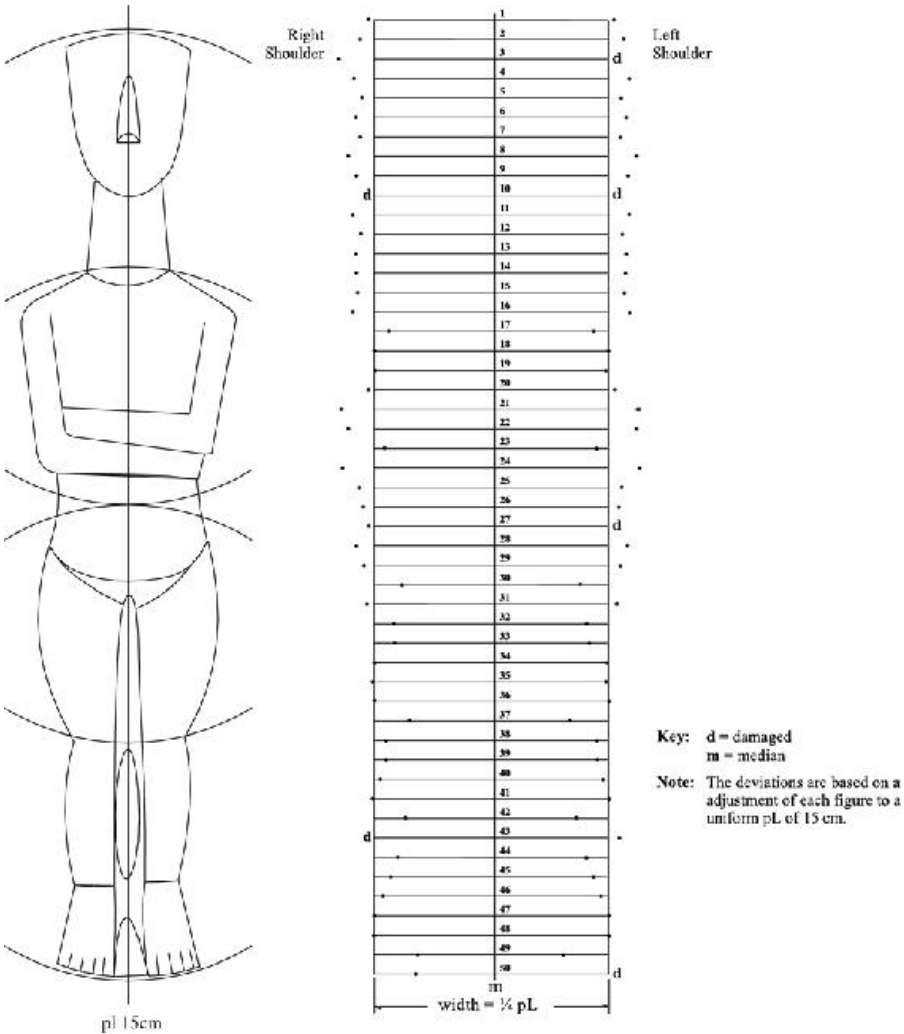


Chart G. Deviation of shoulder width from a standard one-quarter of the proportional length

TABLE IX. Works attributed to individual sculptors: deviations from the standard four-part plan compared

	Figure	Plate	aL	pL	DEV neck	DEV neck: pL	DEV knees	DEV knees: pL	W	1/4 pL	DEV per sh	DEV per sh: pL
Strangford Sculptor	—	pl. 38 pl. 39	44.3 48.7	44.8 49.1	↓0.1 ↓0.3	2.2% 0.6%	↓0.5 ↓0.8	1.3% 1.6%	11.6 12.2	11.2 12.3	←0.1 0	0.4% 0.2%
Bent Sculptor	[1]	pl. 58a	11.4	11.6	0	0.0%	↑0.3	2.6%	3.9	2.9	←0.5	4.3%
	1/[2]	pl. 58b	14.6	15.1	↑0.1	0.7%	↑0.4	2.6%	4.0	3.8	←0.1	0.7%
	[8]	—	22.0	22.2	↑0.5	2.3%	↑0.9	4.1%	6.5	5.6	←0.5	2.3%
	[1]	pl. 60a	17.0	17.3	↓0.4	2.3%	↑0.4	2.3%	4.6	4.3	←0.2	1.2%
	[2]	pl. 60b	19.0	19.3	↓0.4	2.1%	0	0.0%	5.3	4.8	←0.3	1.6%
Karo Sculptor	20/[3]	pl. 60c	24.4	24.6	↑0.1	0.4%	↓0.3	1.2%	6.7	6.2	←0.5	1.2%
	[4]	pl. 60d	29.4	29.6	0	0.0%	↓0.2	0.7%	7.9	7.4	←0.3	1.0%
	[5]	pl. 60e	33.5	33.9	↑0.4	1.2%	↓0.2	0.6%	8.2	8.5	→0.2	0.6%
	[6]	pl. 60f	38.0	38.3	↑1.0	0.3%	↑0.4	1.0%	9.8	9.6	←0.1	0.3%
Karlsruhe/ Woodner Sculptor	48/[1]	pl. 64a	86.8	87.1	↑0.4	4.6%	↓3.8	3.9%	21.9	21.8	←0.1	0.1%
	[2]	pl. 64b	89.0	89.6	↓2.0	2.2%	↓1.2	3.6%	17.5	22.4	→2.4	2.8%
	[3] ^a	pl. 64c	140.0	141.0	↓0.8	0.7%	↓4.8	3.4%	27.5	35.3	→3.9	2.8%
Steiner Sculptor	[8]	pl. 67a	21.3	21.7	↓1.0	4.6%	↑0.8	3.7%	5.7	5.4	←0.2	0.9%
	[4]	pl. 67b	48.0	48.7	↓0.6	1.2%	↑0.3	0.6%	11.3	12.2	→0.5	1.0%
	35/[5]	—	50.5	50.7	↓0.4	0.8%	↑0.7	1.4%	12.9	12.7	←0.1	0.2%
	[6]	pl. 67c	59.9	60.2	↑2.3	3.8%	↑0.9	1.5%	12.0	15.1	→1.6	2.7%
Rodgers Sculptor	[1] ^b	pl. 68a	(43.7)	(43.9)	(↓0.2)	(0.5%)	(↓0.3)	(0.8%)	(11.4)	(11.0)	(←0.2)	(0.5%)
	[2]	pl. 68b	53.7	53.9	↓0.8	1.5%	↑1.1	2.0%	13.6	13.5	←0.1	0.2%
	46/[3]	pl. 68c	74.0	74.4	↓0.4	2.2%	↑2.9	3.9%	15.7	18.7	→1.5	2.0%
Naxos Museum Sculptor	[2]	—	19.7	19.9	↓0.6	3.0%	↓0.1	0.5%	5.5	5.0	←0.5	1.5%
	[9]	—	51.4	51.8	↓1.0	1.9%	↑2.0	3.9%	13.0	13.0	0	0.0%
	45/[11]	fig. 35b	71.6	71.7	↓0.8	1.1%	↓0.9	1.3%	12.2	17.9	→2.9	4.0%
	4 ^c	fig. 45	15.6	15.7	↓0.4	2.5%	↑0.8	5.1%	4.5	3.9	←0.3	1.9%
	[1]	—	16.4	16.7	↓0.1	0.6%	↑0.1	0.6%	4.6	4.2	←0.2	1.2%
Goulendris Sculptor	[2]	pl. 72b	32.7	33.1	↑0.2	0.6%	↓1.3	3.9%	8.2	8.3	0	0.3%
	[4]	—	33.6	34.0	↑0.1	0.3%	↓1.6	4.7%	9.2	8.5	←0.4	1.2%
	[13]	—	41.9	42.3	↑1.2	2.8%	↓0.6	1.4%	11.0	10.6	←0.2	0.5%
	41/[25]	—	60.2	60.7	↑1.0	1.6%	↓0.9	1.5%	15.4	15.2	←0.1	0.2%
	[26]	—	61.7	62.1	↑0.5	0.8%	↓2.0	3.2%	14.0	15.5	→0.8	1.3%
	[27]	pl. 73a	63.3	63.7	↑0.6	0.9%	↓1.2	1.9%	16.7	15.9	←0.4	0.6%

Notes:

All measurements are in cm rounded off to the nearest mm.

a. Measured for the author at the NPGM.

b. Measurements taken from photos and original L established, based on PL of ±1.8 cm.

c. Perhaps a work of the sculptor.

Key:
aL: actual length
pL: proportional length
sh: shoulder
↓: too low
↑: too high
←: more than 1/4 pL
→: less than 1/4 pL

Abbreviations

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AM:	Archaeological Museum
APM:	Allard Pierson Museum
Ash:	Ashmolean Museum
BL:	Badisches Landesmuseum
BM:	British Museum
BMG:	Musée Barbier-Mueller
IUAM:	Indiana University Art Museum
JPGM:	J. Paul Getty Museum
MA:	Museo Archeologico
MMA:	Metropolitan Museum of Art
NAM:	National Archaeological Museum
NPGM:	Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation —Museum of Cycladic Art
SCVA:	Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts
SMPK:	Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz
SK:	Staatliche Kunstsammlung
VMFA:	Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

OTHERS

E:	Estimated
EB:	Early Bronze
EBA:	Early Bronze Age
EC:	Early Cycladic
FN:	Final Neolithic
H:	Height
L:	Length
LC:	Late Cycladic
LN:	Late Neolithic
P:	Preserved
PColl:	Private collection
R:	Restored
T.:	Tomb
W:	Width

Notes

1. For the most intensive criticism of my work, see: C. Broodbank, "The Spirit Is Willing" [review of *Spirit*], *Antiquity* 66 (1992): 543–544; J. F. Cherry, "Beazley in the Bronze Age? Reflections on Attribution Studies in Aegean Prehistory," in R. Laffineur and J. L. Crowley, eds., *EIKΩN Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Aegaeum* 8 (Liège, 1992): 123–144; Gill and Chip-pindale, *passim*. (See also Davis, 704 with note 19.) While I would certainly urge the reader to consider the articles cited above, I have no wish to clutter the text of the chapters to follow or the notes with references to or rebuttals of the criticisms and arguments contained in them. If it appears, by contrast, that I take special exception to certain points made by Colin Renfrew, a scholar who, unlike the others, has written extensively about EC sculpture, it is not because I find his views more unreasonable than others'. On the contrary, it is because his are particularly germane to the present study and are presented in a manner that invites discussion.

2. P. G. Preziosi, "The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*: An Oral Analysis," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 (1967): 171–204.

3. This survey is by no means comprehensive. For those readers whose exposure to the subject is limited, I would suggest close study of the illustrations in such books as *ACC*, *BMCat.*, *ECS*, *NAC*, *Sculptors*, *Spirit*, and *Zervos*.

The reader may wonder why I refer to Cycladic sculptors as male. I do so only because marbleworking would have been incompatible with the traditional full-time preoccupations of women: child rearing, food preparation, and cloth production. "Making cloth and clothing soaked up more than half the hu-man labor hours in most preindustrial societies, more even than food production." (*Mummies of Ümrümchi*, 26.) See also *Stone Vessels*, n. 62.

4. See *ACC*, no. 13 (*NAC*, no. 3; Bastis, no. 44); fig. 31 (Eleusis figure). On the Amorgian provenance of the Eleusis piece, see Tsountas 1898, col. 138.

5. This in turn is related to a couple of schematic figures, one complete and one fragmentary, also found on Saliagos. On these works a simple notch in the head/neck prong was used to create the illusion of a prominent nose or chin. See J. D. Evans and C. Renfrew, *Excavations at Saliagos Near Antiparos* (British School of Archaeology at Athens, Supplementary vol. 5, 1968), fig. 76:1.2.

6. Note that arm cutouts can occur or not on otherwise quite similar Bulgarian Chalcolithic marble images of c. 4000 B.C. See Gimbutas, pls. 146 (with cutouts), 147 (without).

7. See also, e.g., *Neolithic Culture*, nos. 230, 239, 240; *ACC*, nos. 6,

12.

8. Making a space between the torso and upper arms was, of course, far more easily achieved in clay. See, e.g., *Neolithic Culture*, nos. 220, 233.

9. G. A. Papathanassopoulos, "The Figurines and Models: The Peloponnese," in *Neolithic Culture*, 155; Demakopoulou, 191–197.

10. One might compare the traditional carved wooden knitting needle holders of modern Greek folk art, which terminate in the rigid image of a standing woman, often emerging from the mouth of a fish and usually with her arms opposed (e.g., *Obsidian Trail*, fig. 25 left, incorrectly identified as a distaff).

11. One small FN headless figure found in the Alepotrypa Cave at Diros in Laconia, but possibly made in the islands, may represent a transition from the LN female standing image to the Plastiras. *Neolithic Culture*, no. 31. Compare the FN lug bowl (ibid., no. 30b) from the Alepotrypa Cave, which so resembles EC I bowls (*Stone Vessels*, chap. 3) that there must have been a connection with the Cyclades. On Neolithic vessels probably of Naxian marble from the Franchthi Cave, see Herz, 188.

12. See the discussion of the Doumas Sculptor in [Chapter 3](#).

13. See PGP 1981, fig. 2:1–11. To this visual checklist should be added the violin figure illustrated here in [plate 7c](#), the one described in note 19, the Plastiras image discussed on page 63 , and the Plastiras and precanonical images discussed on page 22 (with note 43). See also PGP 1981 (p. 23), where I stated that "it is quite possible that some pieces at least broke—and were repaired—before they ever left the workshop, perhaps during the final stages of manufacture." I should have explained that unless a piece, or at least the area that fractured, was substantially finished, lacking only its final smoothing, it would have been extremely difficult to continue the carving of a small detached leg to make it like the other leg; moreover, it would have been very difficult to match the two sections on either side of a neckor leg-break. Any attempt at matching is likely to have left some visible trace, but there do not appear to be any such examples among those where the part that broke off and was reattached has survived with the rest of the figure. When marble figures broke during carving, they would have been salvaged without using the broken part or they would have been used as fragments, or discarded, depending in part on how far work on the pieces had progressed when they broke.

14. There are some noteworthy exceptions, including, e.g., ACC, nos. 72, 79, both, I was told, from the same source, and therefore possibly from the same cemetery, as the piece in [plate 5a](#).

15. See page 22. Most Plastiras sculptors, like their Neolithic predecessors, failed to compensate for their unnaturally broad upper

bodies. The carver of ACC, no. 72 (*Sculptors*, pl. 1b) began to bore holes like those in figure 3 but did not complete them.

16. See also the discussion of the Doumas Sculptor in [Chapter 3](#).

17. Also ACC, nos. 66–67.

18. Also ACC, no. 70. A number of figures, including the Neolithic image in [plate 2](#), have their arms rendered as a raised band that is closely similar to, and I believe is meant to double as, an abdominal fold or band. See, e.g., the violin figure in plate 7e and ACC, nos. 48 and 104. On those works the arms and the abdominal bands are so similar that the former can easily be read as another abdominal band.

19. See also ACC, no. 40 (= *Sculptors*, fig. 27a). Here the placement of the two sets of grooves is somewhat different. On an unpublished violin figure on Paros (Paroikia, AM), a single series of eight grooves—the most on any figure to date—occupies the entire indented section of the torso, between the elbows and hips, effectively connecting the area of the arms to the top of the large pubic triangle. Besides the horizontal grooves, this work has an unprecedented triple set of oblique grooves forming the V at the top of the chest. Clearly, the artist in this case had a keen sense of design and pattern and a particular fondness for parallel grooving. The piece also has a small ancient repair hole at the base of the head/neck prong; most of the prong, with the corresponding repair hole, is missing.

20. The clearest example of this sort of salvaging is to be seen on the folded-arm figure in [plate 63d](#). In that case there are additional works attributable to the artist—the Copenhagen Sculptor—which allow us to see how, under ordinary circumstances, he would have carved the legs and feet. See the discussion of the Copenhagen Sculptor in [Chapter 4](#).

21. See, e.g., NAC, nos. 118, 119; *Stone Vessels*, pls. 40–41, 43.

22. Another, very curious work, which entered the Sainsbury Collection in 1965, shows the same rectangular treatment of the upper torso (and also the same sort of small, knoblike breasts), but, in addition, the raised border effect continues all the way to the knees (ACC, no. 245; SCVA Cat., no. 306). It is not clear what the sculptor had in mind, but in my opinion the work is precanonical (EC I/II) and represents a not very successful experiment.

23. E.g., ACC, no. 12; *Neolithic Culture*, nos. 243, 247. It is worth noting that, in complete contrast, a LN Aegean figure currently on loan to the MMA (L.1999.15) has its opposed forearms carved in relief *on top of* its pendant breasts.

24. NAC, no. 14.

25. Compare ECS, pl. IIa.

26. The only other characteristic Louros figure with breasts known to me is also, at 28.6 cm, the tallest (ACC, no. 87; *Sculptors*, fig. 13a).

27. ACC, no. 80 (shown next to the piece illustrated here in pl. 10b).

28. See *Sculptors*, 62–63. One of the seven figures is no longer identifiable. The sixth (*Naxos*, no. 148) is not well preserved and appears clumsy in comparison with the others, making one wonder if it could be from another hand. The figure has a series of abdominal grooves, which adds to the variety within the group.

29. E.g., perhaps ACC, nos. 82, 84, 85, and 86. Their small size—9.0 cm, 12.3 cm, 8.1 cm, and 12.1 cm., respectively—and the stage of development of their sculptor perhaps precluded leg separation. The shape of the legs of these works seems to me to contain a hint of shapely forms to come. I would attribute the two Louros figures illustrated here to a more mature phase of the Stephanos Sculptor's development. For a discussion of the Louros type, see Matthäus. The piece in Marburg (*ibid.*, figs. 1–3) is possibly another work of the Stephanos Sculptor.

30. E.g., ACC, nos. 59–62; NAC, no. 88 (= ECS, fig. 18).

31. Demakopoulou (p. 197) sees the origin of the Louros type in the FN, comparing an example (*ibid.*, fig. 59) to a schematic figure from Thessaly (*ibid.*, fig. 58; no. 219), which in turn is similar to a LN figure, also from Thessaly (no. 218). See diagram in *Neolithic Culture*, 144–145. Any resemblance of the Louros figures to these works is, I believe, likely to be fortuitous. Neither geography nor chronology supports the idea of a direct link. Furthermore, the shapes involved are very elemental reductions of the human form that could easily have occurred independently. The absence or strong schematization of the arms was very widespread on figurative images, as noted. See, e.g., Gimbutas, *passim*.

32. In the early EC II cemetery at Aplomata on Naxos, a precanonical figure (Naxos, AM 5470) was found in T. 13 along with many early EC II objects (Kontoleon 1971b, fig. 218g). A precanonical head was retrieved from the fill between graves (Kontoleon 1972, pl. 135), and two or three fragments of such figures were also found by chance at Aplomata before the systematic excavation of the cemetery (e.g., Naxos, AM 4843: torso/thighs). A head, very similar to the one from Aplomata, was found with EC II pottery above Naoussa on Paros (*Ergon* 1982, 44 with fig. 102 on p. 45). Both their fragmentary state and the circumstances in which they were found suggest that these pieces could have belonged to earlier burials disturbed in EC II. For other precanonical figures in Greece, see *Naxos*, no. 152 (with note 46 below), and the figures from Akrotiri on Thera found in a LC context (p. 22).

Recently (*Spirit*, 92) Renfrew suggested that so-called precanonical figures “may simply be variant forms of the five varieties of [the

folded-arm] figure,” dismissing them on the grounds that they have not been found in published excavations. (One should remember that only one properly excavated and recorded grave—Louros T. 26—has held Louros type figures; only a few have yielded Plastiras images.) T. 13 at Aplomata contained a wide variety of figure types, but this is exceptional; in general, archaeologists have not found such “variants” with standard examples of the folded-arm varieties. They are noticeably absent, e.g., on Keros, where more EC II sculpture has been found than at any other site. That alone suggests that they belong to a slightly earlier time.

33. For the work in figure 10, see *Neolithic Culture*, no. 237. No Aegean Neolithic stone sculpture begins to approach it in size, and only one Plastiras figure, of which the head/neck survives, is known to have been executed in the same scale. See Athens Museum Sculptor [4].

34. On the question of size among the known precanonical figures, it should be noted that the works illustrated in plates 19 and 21 are not only the earliest examples, but also the largest (pl. 19) or one of the two largest (pl. 21) examples of their respective iconographic types. (The largest harp player is carved in the Early Spedos style and is 35.8 cm tall. See *NAC*, no. 92; in *Sculptors* [pl. IIc; fig. 21a] the H is incorrectly given as 60 cm.) Furthermore, one extremely large EC figure, of which only the head/neck survives (*ACC*, fig. 23; see note 148 for additional refs.), retains certain precanonical features (e.g., head shape, jutting chin, carved mouth and ears), but because so little of the work is preserved, it is impossible to date it with any accuracy. It is usually thought of as a Spedos variety work, but could be earlier. Conceivably, there are very large precanonical works still to be found.

35. An isotopic signature analysis of the marble suggests a possible Naxian source ([chart D](#): a). On isotopic signature analysis, see, e.g., H. Craig and V. Craig, “Greek Marbles: Determination of Provenance by Isotopic Analysis,” *Science* 176 (1972): 401–403; Herz; N. Herz and D. B. Wenner, “Tracing the Origins of Marble,” *Archaeology* 34, 5 (1981): 14–21. To my knowledge, no precanonical or earlier EC figures found in the Cyclades or presumed to have been found there have been subjected to isotopic analysis. The elongation of the thighs in this case seems to presage the Kapsala variety. There may also be a stylistic affinity with two fragments—a head/neck and a lower leg/foot—of EB I or EB I/II date, which were apparently found in Attica but are quite likely of Cycladic origin. See *BMCat.*, nos. 32–33; *Dawn*, pls. 47–48.

36. See *Sculptors*, pl. 20 [1]. Here the scapulae are rendered very much as on the figure in [plate 11](#). Note that only the left one is clearly incised.

37. See *Sculptors*, pl. 17 [3] and the discussion of the Metropolitan

Museum Sculptor in [Chapter 3](#). This is the only work of the four that did not sustain subsequently mended fractures at the neck, a leg, or both, which suggests that any damage to the breast(s) occurred during carving, since it is unlikely that a figure would have been returned to its maker merely for cosmetic repair to the breasts.

38. The reader might well wonder if the fracture was not smoothed to enable the work to remain erect without the lower legs and feet, if the corresponding holes in those missing parts were unsuccessful. I doubt this was the case. On at least one other example of internal repair, where posture would not have been a factor, the break surface was also carefully smoothed (PGP 1981, figs. 43–44). Careful preparation of the break surfaces is also found on some stone vessels with repairs (see *Stone Vessels*, 200 and pl. 112a2). A precanonical figure of some interest, but unfortunately untraceable at present, has what appear to be smoothed leg stumps (fig. 11). It was sold by Sotheby's in 1962. There is no mention of dowel holes in the legs, but auction catalogue descriptions from the 1960s are noteworthy for their lack of detail. The figure is discussed further on page 20.

39. Even in cases where a hole could be bored from both directions—the rule rather than the exception—the holes made with a hand-held awl were often bigger at the points of entry than they needed to be. On early repairs and the transition to the rotary drill, see PGP 1981, 8–19; *Stone Vessels*, 134, 136 with n. 409.

40. It may be that once bored details went out of fashion, sculptors would not have had any frequent use for an implement that made holes, unless they also made vessels that required lug or other perforation. Such vessels were much less common after than during EC I, when nearly every stone vessel had one or more perforations. Since the incidence of repairs is relatively rare after EC I, one might suppose that few EC II sculptors had one of the new drills in their tool kits.

41. See ACC, no. 111 (text).

42. See Sotirakopoulou, 126–138, with figs. 8–13, pls. 13–18, 21–23. The Anatolian parallel in figure 16a (which I view as only fortuitously similar, and possibly later) is regarded by Sotirakopoulou (p. 138) as significant. Curiously (but, again, probably by chance), a small male figure of lead provides an EC parallel in metal for the arm cutouts and the forearm arrangement. See ACC, no. 251 (EC III[?]) according to Thimme, but in my opinion more likely to be approximately coeval with the Thera figure).

43. Sotirakopoulou (p. 148) also ascribes the four works with cutouts to one hand. Unfortunately, I became aware of this publication too late to illustrate these works and discuss them in detail. For example, it would have been possible to demonstrate that

the fragmentary male Plastiras figure (*ibid.*, fig. 10) can be attributed to the sculptor of the exceptionally well-preserved figure cited in note 15 (ACC, no. 72; also PGP 1980: no. 4, figs. 4, 5), a rear view of which has not been published, although I believe a comparison of their profile views provides persuasive evidence of their common authorship, despite a number of differences of proportion and detail.

44. The head of a fourth figure has also been attributed to this sculptor (ACC, no. 118; SCVA Cat., no. 292).

45. The breasts are indicated almost identically on a Louros figure, presumably made around the same time. It was recovered on Naxos. See note 26. For another, rather atypical Louros figure (also from Naxos) with breasts placed slightly further apart, see Zervos, pl. 46.

46. Another precanonical figure (with small ears), preserved to the knees, was, with an estimated height of nearly 30 cm, considerably larger than the works illustrated in plates 16 and 17. See *Naxos*, no. 152 (identified as belonging to the Kapsala variety). This work differs from the others in having rounded rather than angular shoulders and upper arms, and its mid-section is much longer; also, it lacks a stylistic detail peculiar to them—an extension of the inner line of the upper arms all the way to the shoulders (in front). In other respects (head shape, lower torso and thighs) it resembles the two works closely. It is unclear whether the piece in Naxos is a more mature work of the same sculptor, or if it is the work of another, related artist—perhaps a younger, still more forwardlooking member of the family. No find-place is given for any of the works attributed to the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor or the works shown in plates 16 and 17. The figure in Naxos was confiscated from a Naxian who may have found it there. Despite the lack of evidence, I would speculate that all of these works were made on Naxos.

47. See also PGP 1981, figs. 28–30. On the interesting repair to the leg of the figure in [plate 15b](#), see *ibid.*, 16 with figs. 34–36.

48. The files of the Greek and Roman Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art indicate that at some point the harp player had been acquired by the Athenian antiquities dealer Orphanides. (It was lent to the MMA in 1945, two years before its acquisition.) The information accompanying the female figure indicates that Orphanides obtained the two works before World War II. It is tempting to assume that they were found together or at least at the same site. I thank Joan Mertens for the information concerning the harp player, and for measuring the piece for me (see below).

49. On the harp players (all of which exhibit clear signs of long-term natural aging of their surfaces), see *NAC*, 261–262. Three fragmentary works—all in a similar state of preservation—should be added to the eight well-preserved examples cited: Papathanasopoulos,

pl. 79a, b (NCC, pls. 119–123; *Naxos*, no. 111); a piece recovered recently on Amorgos (see Marangou 1999, pl. 1); and the work illustrated here in [plate 26e](#). On the harpist in [plate 21](#), see PGP 1980, 7 n.15, 14–15; *ECS*, 35, 37 (*ECS2*, 29, 31). At present, I am also aware of eight spurious examples furnished with elaborate chairs—all based on the harp player in figure 16*d*—and three carved with simple stools. (Among the examples I regard as genuine, only the ones in pl. 21 and fig. 16*d* are carved with an elaborate chair; only these two and the one in pl. 26*e* have the musician’s right arm angled toward the harp’s forepillar.) Harp player figures, the great majority of which were not found in sanctioned investigations, make some people very nervous. See, most recently, J. Younger, *Music in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 144; Jonsered, 1998), 11–13, 73 (no. 46); B. Lawergren, “A ‘Cycladic’ Harpist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 20 (2000): 2–9. Gill and Chippindale (pp. 619–620) go so far as to imply that virtually *all* the known examples could be forgeries. Unless one also believes in the fairly widespread salting of ancient sites with fakes, the recovery by archaeologists in the last decades of a variety of seated figures—on Naxos and Euboia (see notes 51, 62, and 75) and Amorgos (the harpist cited above)—should do much to expose the folly of such a revisionist view. See also Bent, 82.

50. Similar cuttings are found on a Plastiras figure (ACC, no. 71; Fitton, fig. 20; *Sculptors*, fig. 8b) that has been associated with the transitional (EC I/II) Grave D at Kapros on Amorgos. See Thimme in ACC, 581–583. See also the work in figure 10 and the Plastiras and Plastiras/precanonical figures from Akrotiri (see p. 22).

51. An early EC II seated female figure in Naxos (*Naxos*, no. 15), found some twenty-five years after the harp player surfaced, has a chair which in its basic form is identical to that of the harp player in [plate 21](#), a fact that should put to rest any doubts about the latter. While the coincidence indicates that the design was a traditional one used for contemporaneous wooden chairs, it also suggests that not very much time separated the two works. The female figure with the elaborate chair was found in T. 13 at Aplomata on Naxos, along with twelve other figurative works, including one precanonical figure. On the somewhat enigmatic grave and its contents, see note 32; *Sculptors*, 29, 60–61, 64–65.

52. The sculptor of the precanonical works in plates 18 and 19 seems, for example, to look ahead to the Early Spedos variety, to judge by the head shape, especially on the two-figure composition.

53. A fair number of figures are shown moderately pregnant; a few are represented in an advanced stage. See, e.g., ACC, nos. 183, 185; NAC, nos. 47–48; SCVA Cat., no. 297; Sotheby’s (New York), 20 June

1990, lot 19; Christie's (London), 3 July 1996, lot 419. See also plates 88–89: *a* (*NAC*, no. 59).

54. For a possible exception, see *NAC*, no. 33 (= *ECS*, fig. 77), which has a horizontal groove well above the line marking the top of the pubic area.

55. *Stone Vessels*, 146 with n. 309.

56. While by nature a person is likely to be drawn first to the face of an image, I believe that in carving his figure the Cycladic sculptor was most interested in focusing attention on its mid-section. He was aided in this by the well-known phenomenon— frequently the subject of cartoons—in which the eye reads the torso not simply as part of the body but also as a face, the breasts doubling as eyes and the pubis as a mouth. See R. J. Almsi, “The Face–Breast Equation,” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association* 8 (1960): 43–70, esp. 58–67, with ill. An interesting example of this “double entendre” can be found in statements in *Dawn* regarding the small anthropomorphic beaker in Oxford (*Dawn*, pl. 27; *Stone Vessels*, pl. 23a): in the text (*Dawn*, 37), Doumas refers to the work as a “cylindrical cup with a human face”; in the notes to the illustrations (p. 300), the relief work on the vessel is described as representing a human torso! See *Stone Vessels*, 47–49. The painting of the face and hair and sometimes, at least, details on the body, both those that emphasized anatomical features (such as the pubic triangle or finger grooves) and those that are abstract and symbolic, must have dramatically altered a figure's appearance, but how that affected the focal point or points for the viewer is not clear. The position of the image in relation to the viewer would have been influential as well.

57. *ECS*, 40; *ECS2*, 34; *Sculptors*, 47.

58. See, e.g., *ECS*, fig. 72 (corrected in *ECS2*); *Dawn*, pl. 72; L. Goodison and C. Morris, eds., *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence* (Madison, 1998), fig. 51b. For comparative purposes see, in this volume, [plate 86d](#), figure 35b, and [plate 39](#), respectively.

59. I first introduced this work at a symposium on Chalcolithic Cyprus at the J. Paul Getty Museum in February 1990.

60. See Renfrew 1969, 31–32; O. Höckmann, “The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Idols of Anatolia,” in *ACC*, 181.

61. See K. Stabiner, *To Dance with the Devil: The New War on Breast Cancer* (New York, 1998), 31–32: “[Dr. Susan Love] never stood with her hands folded across her chest, which would make her seem inaccessible.”

62. The illustrated example is the only complete cupbearer, and the only one with the cup preserved. There are also two fragmentary works—one from Aplomata on Naxos (*Naxos*, no. 162) and one from Manika on Euboia (Sapouna-Sakellarakis, pl. 7; Davis, fig. 10)—in

which the missing object held was presumably also a cup. It is of interest that the figure from Manika has crossed feet—a position seen on two of the seated female figures found at Aplomata (note 66), but, so far, no others. I do not consider this coincidence fortuitous. Another connection between Manika and Aplomata is to be found in the very similar marble spherical pyxides recovered at both sites (*Stone Vessels*, 167–168 with n. 353). According to Sapouna-Sakellarakis (p. 9), the seated female figure found on Crete, shown here in figure 19, very likely also had crossed feet. The lower legs and feet of that work are, however, well enough preserved to show that the feet were clearly carved side by side in the usual (symmetrical) manner. (Ultimately, it too may have come from Naxos; see note 75.)

63. There are at present parts of six such compositions. For the pieces not illustrated here, see *Sculptors*, n. 13; *Naxos*, no. 98. Despite the fact that the one surviving foot is angled and inclined on the only example with lower extremities preserved, it is likely that normally such works were provided with a base so that they could stand. See, e.g., figure 16a, b. The one that reclines broke, I believe while it was being made, at the juncture with the second figure and was converted into a single figure with one arm folded and the other on its back, seemingly scratching itself (PGP 1981, 23 with figs. 56–57; *Spirit*, pl. 62). At that time the idea of having a base was evidently abandoned, and the figure was given inclined feet instead. The unusually high perforation of the leg-cleft certainly suggests that, as originally planned, the legs were to have been entirely separated, the feet standing on a base.

64. Cf. *Spirit*, 94, 102.

65. ECS2, fig. 28 (= ACC, no. 153; *Spirit*, pl. 97); for a small fragmentary Early Spedos variety figure, see L. Marangou, «Κνυκλαδικό Ειδώλιο από τ ην Μινώα Αμορλού», *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 1990, pp. 159–164.

66. Another very good example of this is a seated female figure with crossed feet (*Dawn*, pls. 86–87; *Naxos*, cover and no. 163; N.B.: the publication information is incorrect, as is perhaps the context of discovery; cf. *Sculptors*, 61), which hover far above the ground because the legs are not bent sharply enough at the knees. Most probably this was its sculptor's first such effort. A second figure, identical in pose to the first, was found with it (*Sculptors*, fig. 30). (See note 62.) It is no doubt a work of the same sculptor, who was able to correct his earlier mistake by bringing the feet to within a very short distance of the ground. On the cupbearer in figure 16c, too, the four stool legs and the feet of the figure do not touch a level surface at the same time. When a shim is placed under the rear left leg of the stool, only the stool legs of the right side make contact. I suspect that in

very few of the seated figure compositions were all six of the lower extremities level.

67. The spool-like objects with slightly concave sides and convex ends (e.g., *Naxos*, nos. 52, 53, 72, 73, 142–144, with refs.), usually identified as pestles or polishers, but tentatively interpreted by Thimme (on a suggestion from M.-L. Erlenmeyer) as neck-rests for figurative images (ACC, text of no. 469, with ref.) entirely on the basis of their fortuitous good fit, were perhaps weights—actual or symbolic—for a portable stand used for making round cords. See E. W. Barber, “Minoan Women and the Challenges of Weaving for Home, Trade, and Shrine,” in R. Laffineur and P. P. Betancourt, eds., *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Aegaeum* 16 (Liège, 1997): 515–516 with pl. 192; *Mummies of Ümrüncü*, 58–60 with fig. 3.11. I am obliged to Paul Barber for responding, in Elizabeth Barber’s absence, to my query regarding these objects. Found throughout the EBA Aegean, they were made in a variety of materials—and especially in the Cyclades, where examples of marble and a shell-like material (aragonite?) predominate. See C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London, 1972), 200. Since so many of the stone objects found in EC contexts were connected with physical appearance (see *Stone Vessels*, chap. 8), the interpretation of these objects (which show no use-wear) as cord-making weights seems all the more appropriate. EC objects known to have been intended as pestles tend to be conical in shape.

68. In previous publications I suggested that the figures might have been made and obtained specifically for grave use, allowing for little more than passive display during their owners’ lives. Lately I have come to believe that the images, particularly the female folded-arm figures, probably played an *active* role in socioreligious rites and rituals. I have been led to this idea largely by the work of Elizabeth Hendrix, which seems to show that the figures were painted differently at different times (see Hendrix, 15). The final round of painting, which seems to have taken place as part of the burial preparations, is the one that has left the clearest traces and is therefore the one that is best known to us. See *Stone Vessels*, 179 with pl. VIId, e.

69. Hoffman gives a good overview of the possible meaning(s) and function(s) proposed for them, suggesting that the folded-arm figures served, at least on occasion, as representations of mourners. She was led to this idea in large part by the existence of a very small number of heads that have painted vertical stripes (which she reads as “selfinflicted” scratches) on their cheeks. See note 148.

70. *Spirit*, 94. Note that Renfrew casts doubts on the work in plate

19. See notes 211, 212.

71. See ACC, no. 257; *Sculptors*, fig. 12a (= BMCat., no. 167). To the examples illustrated here and cited in ACC (no. 257, text), add: C. C. Vermeule III and M. B. Comstock, *Sculpture in Stone and Bronze in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Additions to the Collections of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Art 1971–88* (Boston, 1988), no. 3 (S4). I have not personally examined this last piece.

72. On the other examples of the type, one other mother figure (illustrated most recently in *Spirit*, pl. 59) appears to be represented as pregnant.

73. See also J. Mertens, “Some Long Thoughts on Early Cycladic Sculpture,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33 (1998): 13.

74. The fragment is very difficult to date. I have restored the mother figure as an EC II work, in part because it was easiest, and yet the infant figure seems most like a Louros image. If this is not coincidental, the mother would have been precanonical in style. See also the discussion on page 38. (For a mother/child composition once regarded as EC, see J. Wasserman, “Cycladic or Archaic: Note on a Statuette,” *Marsyas* 18 [1957–59]: 75–81. This is the work cited in Renfrew 1969, 14 with n. 48.)

75. Some seven Kapsala and Early Spedos variety seated female figures were found in the cemetery of Aplomata on Naxos (see table I). See notes 51, 62, 66; *Naxos*, nos. 14–15, 159–161, 163; *Dawn*, pls. 56, 57, 60–62, 86–87. A Kapsala variety example is said to come from Ios (ACC, no. 260); the diminutive precanonical work illustrated here was found on Crete, but was almost certainly made in the Cyclades. (But cf. *Dawn*, 309, no. 89.) In some respects—head shape and facial details and the profile contours of the torso—it resembles the harp player in plate 21, despite the fact that it is less than a third of the latter’s height. Compare especially the profile views in Renfrew 1969, pl. 9a.2 with PGP 1980, fig. 18.

There are also a number of what I call semisitting female figures, carved without any furniture. Such images would have needed props, of wood perhaps, to enable them to sit up properly. See, e.g., *NAC*, no. 29 (with refs.).

76. See note 52. The presence in a single grave (Aplomata T. 13) of precanonical, Kapsala, and Early Spedos figures suggests that a rather brief time span might have been involved.

77. Also operating here is the “face-breast equation.” (See note 56.) In this regard, see especially the fragmentary figure in plate 30.

78. For a Kapsala figure with a similarly long mid-section, see Fitton, fig. 39.

79. For Early Spedos variety figures, see, e.g., *ECS*, figs. 33–34; for Late Spedos figures, see plates 73d, 74d, 75, 77; and a fragmentary

male figure: *ECS2*, fig. 28; *Spirit*, pl. 97.

80. The surviving portion of the figure resembles the work of the Schuster Sculptor (see [Chapter 4](#)) in certain respects but is, I believe, somewhat closer to the Late Spedos style and therefore probably from the hand of a slightly earlier carver, perhaps even his father/teacher. I am aware of one or two other works probably attributable to this sculptor, including an unpublished figure from the Keros hoard (see page 73) preserved without its head/neck and the ends of the feet (PL 33.3 cm; EL ca. 44.0 cm). It is very possible that the work shown here also belonged to the Keros hoard. A smaller fragmentary figure in Thessaloniki (AM B.E. 10661; PL 24 cm without its head/neck and most of the feet; est. L c. 33 cm) may also be from this sculptor's hand. A piece of unknown find-place, but very likely from Naxos or Keros, it was confiscated in the late 1960s, along with the work in [plate 74b](#). See *Deltion, Chronika* 24 (1969): pl. 299a.

81. See *Spirit*, 103 with pl. 97.

82. E. Hendrix reminds me that if the surface was further embellished with painted details, sculptural imperfections and modifications might have been less noticeable.

83. Note the diverging opinions as to whether or not one sculptor is likely to have been responsible for both works when two were found together: *Spirit*, 111–113. This points up the need, in most cases, to have more than two pieces for valid judgments to be possible.

84. These are: two small fragmentary figures on Naxos (Apeiranthos, AM; Naxos, AM 5840, from Aplomata) and the torso/thigh fragment of a figure of about 35 cm from the Keros hoard.

85. See, e.g., *ACC*, nos. 236, 239, 247; *Sculptors*, fig. 9; *NAC*, nos. 67–68.

86. See also *ACC*, nos. 239, 246.

87. See also *ACC*, no. 232; *NAC*, no. 63.

88. On some figures transitions are marked not by sudden bulges, but by an abrupt thinning of the piece. See, e.g., the profile of *NAC*, no. 67.

89. Conceivably, there was another abdominal band or fold in the area now restored in plaster.

90. This is not a singular piece. A few years ago I was shown a photograph of another, somewhat larger work, apparently carved by the same person. That one, at least, is far more likely to have been found on Naxos than on Seriphos.

91. For other works on which the mouth, treated as a short, horizontal groove, is the only sculpturally indicated facial detail other than the nose, see *ACC*, no. 219; Sotheby's (London), 11 December 1988, lot 184 (head only); Barbier-Mueller Cat., no. 32 (head only). For a rare Early Spedos figure with an incised mouth, see Sotheby's

(London), 10 July, 1989, lot 70.

92. See NAC, no. 60 (text), where the question of whether the present head/neck is the original one is raised. Although an isotopic analysis has not been done, Dr. George Wheeler of the Objects Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art examined the two parts of the piece using microscopy and X-ray radiography and found no difference in their marble. The conclusion to be drawn is that head and body were originally carved in one piece. See note 13.

93. An attempt to join the two parts by the concealed doweling method, using a power drill, had to be abandoned, in part because of the presence of the ancient mending holes, but also because of the smallness of the break surfaces. This only confirms how difficult it would have been for the ancient sculptor to make a concealed join using his hand-operated drill.

94. For EC II repair holes, see PGP 1981, figs. 2:16, 17, 20, 22–23.

95. PGP 1980, nos. 32–33, 35–36.

96. PGP 1980, nos. 30–31.

97. A fourth figure (PGP 1980, figs. 61–62; NAC, no. 65) lacks all accoutrements, but its arms are bent upward and its facial features and masculine hairstyle are very similar to those of the hunter/warriors.

98. For the torso fragment not shown here, see *Hesperia* 43 (1974): pl. 11:40; PGP 1979, fig. 1c. There are also four heads with articulated facial features and masculine hairstyles, some or all of which could have belonged to hunter/warriors: Fitton 1984, 80 with fig. 6 (ACC, fig. 162); ACC, nos. 76 (NAC, no. 66), 241; and BMCat., no. 150 (unfinished).

99. Fitton 1984, figs. 3, 5 (BMCat., no. 162; *Spirit*, pl. 58).

100. See Brouscari (513, no. 3), who considers the work a female representation.

101. It is also related, by its brows and grooved hair, to a male folded-arm figure (PGP 1980, no. 33; NAC, no. 64). That image, apart from its facial features and hair and an eccentric treatment of the rear, is, like c, a quite characteristic work.

102. On the Dresden Sculptor, see *Sculptors*, 126–130 with pls. 48–50—esp. [1, 4, 7]. For a summary of views on the relative chronology of the noncanonical hunter/warrior figures, see Fitton 1984, 80.

103. For the early baldric-bearing figure, see PGP 1980, no. 8. As with the abdominal grooves, it is difficult to explain the long *sculptural* absence of this accoutrement. Nevertheless, the baldric would have had a presence in EC culture all along if in certain situations men actually wore such a strap.

104. E.g., PGP 1981, figs. 28–30; NAC, no. 63.

105. See also, e.g., PGP 1981, fig. 28; BMCat., no. 31; Christie's (London), 3 July 1996, lot 418. A broad, tapering neck with a fairly well defined transition to the shoulders is found on early works (e.g., pl. 13), and occasionally on late ones (fig. 28).

106. For other precanonical examples, see, e.g., the piece from Aplomata T. 13 cited in note 32; J. Dörig, *Art Antique: Collections privées du Suisse romande* (Editions Archéologique de l'Université du Genève, Mainz, 1975), no. 30. For other Chalandriani variety examples, see ACC, no. 247, and a small unpublished, now headless, figure in Kiel (Kunsthalle Antikensammlung; acquired, by bequest, in 1925) with a strongly tapered, broad neck similar to that of figure 28.

107. Roughly the same arm position is found on other late works, and on male as well as female figures. See, e.g., figure 27d; NAC, no. 65; *Sculptors*, pl. 11e. An unpublished fragment in Naxos (AM 201) of uncertain date has arms arranged in this way, and indicated in false relief similar to the technique used on the Plastiras figure in plate 6.

108. See *Sculptors*, 71–74 with pls. 4b, 14–15.

109. See also the discussion (p. 220) of the Plastiras figures found by Doumas at Akrotiri on Thera but not in their original disposition.

110. *Sculptors*, 71.

111. Thimme (ACC, no. 74) identified them correctly as abdominal grooves.

112. I am very grateful to Gudrun Elsner and Heiner Protzmann of the Skulpturensammlung in Dresden for examining the figure for me under magnification and in raking light to see if additional grooves were discernible.

113. Zervos, pl. 105 (PGP 1980, no. 2; *Sculptors*, fig. 11b). For other male Plastiras figures, see PGP 1980, nos. 4–7, and note 42 above. Altogether, I now know of thirteen male Plastiras images that I regard as genuine.

114. See N. Hamilton, "A Fresh Look at the 'Seated Gentlemen' in the Pierides Foundation Museum, Republic of Cyprus," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4 (1994): 309–311.

115. If it is true that the Doumas Sculptor and Kandila Sculptor A (*Stone Vessels*, 27–30) were one and the same artist, as I have tentatively suggested (*ibid.*, 31–32), the apparent novelty of his use of the pattern of abdominal grooves might not be so surprising, since among his many characteristic vessels there are also a few highly unusual ones, including the only kandila (of more than 300 examples of the type) decorated all over with incision work (*ibid.*, 21 with pl. 13f and fig. 12; 73–75).

116. See *Sculptors*, 74–78 with pls. Ia, 16–17.

117. The figure belongs to a group of confiscated and as yet unpublished EC objects on display in Athens. My interest in this piece

and another from the same group of objects concerns their relationship to the previously known works attributable to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor. On EC repairs using lead, see *Stone Vessels*, 100 with n. 169. See also Notes on the Text Figures: figure 29b.

118. The same sort of thing occurred in the manufacture of stone pottery. See *Stone Vessels*, e.g., 51, 54, 57, 115, 117 with n. 245.

119. See, e.g., *Sculptors*, 63 with pl. 4a. For another violin figure probably from this sculptor's hand, see Sotheby's (New York), 17 December 1997, lot 87 (H 14.9 cm; the figure has a V at the neck in front but no other markings).

120. See *Sculptors*, 83–88 with pls. 21–22.

121. Although in *Sculptors* I was hesitant to ascribe the figure in plate 57 to the Kontoleon Sculptor, I am now quite convinced of the correctness of the attribution. In *NAC* (nos. 24–25), the two works shown here are illustrated and the association made, but I believe it is worth repeating, with the photographs placed so as to be easily compared.

122. *NAC*, no. 22, possibly also a work of the Kontoleon Sculptor. See Kontoleon Sculptor Checklist: note.

123. On the painted details, see *NAC*, no. 24, with bibliography. This and the head on p. i are among the earliest works I know that have multiple rows of dots painted on the face. Such dotting is not uncommon on Early Spedos figures, ranging in size from small to colossal (e.g., pl. 97a; *ACC*, nos. 139, 141, 145, 154 [with carved ears], 156, 162, 190; *ECS*, pl. VIc [with painted ears]; and the figure mentioned in note 150). The pattern occurs occasionally on Late Spedos figures (e.g., Goulandris Sculptor [29], 181), but apparently not later.

124. See note 152.

125. See note 212. Note that the figures in plates 24b and 57 were both acquired in the 1950s. Conceivably, they came from the same place.

126. In two cases where two pieces were found together, which in my opinion increases the odds that each pair was carved by a single person, one figure seems more characteristic than the other. This is true of the sculptor's name-pieces ([3, 4], which have yet to be properly published). Although they are nearly identical in length, [3] nevertheless seems more typical of the sculptor's work than [4], which may be somewhat later: it has a different head shape and narrower and more even (level) forearms, and in those respects seems to presage the work in plate 57. In the case of the two figures in Oxford ([12, 13]), the smaller ([12], which measures a scant 13.7 cm) is far more characteristic than the other—it resembles the piece in plate 24b

— while at the same time the two works have enough in common, I believe, to warrant ascription to the same hand, especially given the find-context. Renfrew, however, disagrees. See *Spirit*, 113 with pl. 69. Note that the large, broad head of [13] compares well to that of the work in plate 24a: both appear somewhat ungainly in their proportions, or at least slightly top-heavy.

127. Alas, I became aware of the head on p. i too late to discuss it or the idea that the Kontoleon Sculptor's career may have spanned the Kapsala variety and that he may even have made works identified with the Spedos variety style. See Checklist: [17] and note.

128. On the Fitzwilliam Sculptor, see *Sculptors*, 90–92 with pls. 26–27.

129. Regrettably, I did not associate [7] with the Karo Sculptor until this study was completed. For that reason the figure, although important for an understanding of his development, is not illustrated here.

130. *Naxos*, no. 161. For the possibility that he also carved colossal figures, see Karo Sculptor Checklist: note.

131. See *Sculptors*, Copenhagen Master Checklist: note. Conceivably, this head belonged to the same work as the torso/thigh fragment ?[9]. On the Copenhagen Sculptor generally, see *ibid.*, 88–90 with pls. 24–25.

132. On the sculptor's name-piece [3], the flattened nose bends down in the same way, but the contour below it is straight. A flat nose is a trait not uncommon among Spedos Style B figures, with their straight, narrow profiles. See, e.g., Zapheiroupolou, no. 8 (*Naxos*, AM 4181; L 58 cm; found in excavations on Keros); Fitton, figs. 45–46.

133. The contours of the fragment compare favorably also with certain works attributed to the Karo Sculptor (pl. 60d, e) as well as with Fitton, figs. 45–46, and NAC, no. 36 (see Karo Sculptor: Checklist ?[7]). All of these works have a number of characteristics in common with the Copenhagen Sculptor's earlier phase, including narrow, rounded shoulders, but not enough to postulate anything more than the likelihood that the two carvers were colleagues familiar with each other's work. As far as the two-figure fragment is concerned, none of these parallels has a detached horizontal line marking the top of the pubic area, and all except the last one cited are much smaller.

134. See PGP 1983; J. Thimme, "A Keros-Syros Deposit from Keros," in ACC, 588; *Sculptors*, 134–139. Note that the hoard was a haphazard collection of objects from one place rather than a self-contained deposit, making the word *hoard* in this context somewhat inaccurate and misleading. (Although hardly an archaeological term, *haul* better describes this accumulation of material!) And because it is not the complete yield from a particular

site, it is virtually certain that many objects from the same location (i.e., those not found by archaeologists) have entered the known corpus, at various times and through various channels, as “find-place unknown.” See, e.g., Goulandris [20], from the hoard, which joins Goulandris [33], not from the hoard but obviously a later find from the same site. I have been told, too, that a number of works in the NPGM were found on Keros (e.g., pl. 86c). See note 135.

135. I first became aware of the Keros hoard in 1967, at which time I was able to examine a substantial part of it. I have since come to realize that a large number of pieces—among them probably most of the more complete and impressive ones—had lost their association with the hoard before I was given information about it and subsequently named it. I had been under the impression that objects from the assemblage began to be sold to collectors and museums, and to a number of other dealers, between 1955 and 1960. I have been told, however, that when first acquired, the objects were wrapped in pre-World War II newspapers, which suggests that some of them at least could have reached western Europe well before 1955. The fragment in plate 62b was acquired by a French collector before the war, but he cannot recall from whom. Conceivably, a few pieces from the hoard were sold at this time. If so, they would have been sold in Paris, and this work might have been among them.

Objects that I know belong to the Keros hoard are specifically identified; other works said to have been found on Keros (e.g., pl. 98; fig. 15d) are simply designated: “Keros.” In a few cases I became aware of the association with the Keros hoard only after pieces had been published as “provenance unknown.” The original acquirer of the hoard (a dealer now deceased) did not, as a rule, give Keros as the reputed find-place when he sold individual pieces from it. It is quite possible, although unprovable, that many of the complete and most of the fragmentary EC II figures not from systematic excavations were actually recovered on Keros, beginning as early as the late nineteenth century. See Fitton, 42.

136. I had been under the mistaken impression earlier that no good source of white marble exists on Keros, but see Herz and Doumas, esp. fig. 3; also Herz, 189–190.

137. See *Sculptors*, 133–134, 139–140. On the site of Kavos, see *Spirit*, 99, 101. Doumas (“Death,” in *Naxos*, 94–95) has suggested that skeletal remains and grave goods from burials on Naxos may have been redispersed on Keros. In recent investigations on Amorgos, further fragments of EC sculpture have been found, including the torso of a male figure (note 65) and part of a harp player (note 49). When asked if she thought these works are likely to have been made on Amorgos, their excavator, Lila Marangou, responded that she thought not

(personal communication).

138. Rasmussen, pp. 70, 83. See Chart D: b; see also note 35.

139. *ECS*, 70–72 with figs. 56–59.

140. See Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor Checklist: [3].

141. *NAC*, no. 39 (text); and again in *ECS2*, 64–66 (esp. p. 66).

142. Unfortunately, the new front and rear photographs are not as sharp as I had hoped. To compensate, in plates 65 and 66 I have added detailed views of the three works, using earlier photographs of c.

143. *ECS*, figs. 37–38.

144. On weight reduction and the works of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, see *ECS*, 72 (= *ECS2*, 66), and *Stone Vessels*, n. 35.

145. In the work of the Copenhagen Sculptor, the smallest figures, which are 30 or more cm smaller than the smallest figures of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, have a maximum width of 22 or 23 percent. The much larger figure (pl. 63d), which is some 15 cm smaller than *a*, has a maximum width of 17 percent; as originally planned, it was to have been about the same length as *a*, yet its maximum width would have been only 14 percent of its length. The two other well-preserved colossal figures have widths that are about 18.5 percent and 14 percent of their overall length. These are, respectively, the largest figure (in Athens: NAM 3978; L 148.3 cm; *Spirit*, pl. 104; *Aegean Islands*, no. 11; *Dawn*, pl. 65) and a privately owned figure with a length of 132 cm (*Sculptors*, pl. X; *ECS*, figs. 4, 34), which is the third-largest.

146. Considering the two other well-preserved colossal images cited in note 145, the disparities along the midline are perhaps not as marked as on c, but their proportions are less harmonious. Like the three works of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, both figures have breasts that are noticeably not level.

147. Renfrew (*Spirit*, 156, 158) is not convinced. See also Hendrix, 16.

148. For other accessibly published heads that were not found by archaeologists but that all but the most obdurate doubting Thomases should easily accept as genuine because of the presence of clear traces of paint, paint ghosts, or appropriate variations in the surface weathering and accretions (see note 212), in addition to convincing style, see: *ACC*, fig. 23 (= Zervos, pls. 177–178; *NCC*, pls. 112–116; *Spirit*, pl. 72; *Dawn*, pl. 77); *ACC*, nos. 201, 202 (= Bastis, 314–315: A); *Spirit*, pl. 120 (Doulas, no. 284; *BMCat.*, no. 171); Goulondris Sculptor [36]. For body fragments, see *NAC*, nos. 41 (= Copenhagen Sculptor ?[9]), 42 (= *ECS*, fig. 33); *Spirit*, pl. 97 (= *ACC*, no. 153; *ECS2*, fig. 28); Zappeiropoulou, no. 14.

The first head cited appears to be the earliest of the colossal works

now known. Besides carved ears, it retains more precanonical features than any of the oversized figures. See note 34. It is worth noting that it is one of only four works known to me with long vertical stripes painted on the cheeks, two of them attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor [32, 36], who carved Late Spedos figures, presumably several generations later. See note 69.

149. See, e.g., A. C. Renfrew, "The Goulandris Museum of Cycladic and Ancient Art, Athens," *Archaeological Reports for 1985–1986*, 140–141; *Spirit*, 156, 158.

150. For the exceptionally large works *without ears*, see: plates 62*a*, 97*a*, 97*b*; the two complete works cited in note 145; five of the heads cited in note 148; and Sotheby's (New York), 17 February 1978, lot 133 (P. Streep, *Sanctuaries of the Goddess: The Sacred Landscapes and Objects* [Boston, 1994], 79 left): an Early Spedos figure (possibly from the Keros hoard; acquired by I. Cohen c. 1960) with red-painted dots on the left cheek, which measures 67.3 cm to the right knee and originally had a length of some 90 cm. For the exceptionally large works *with ears*, see, besides the three attributed to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor, plates 57, 98; and ACC, fig. 23 (see note 148). Two abnormally large heads that are well known through publication also have ears (ACC, no. 198; NAC, no. 44 (ACC, no. 199), but, although stylistically convincing, they do not exhibit any of the indisputable signs of antiquity mentioned in note 148.

Among smaller EC II works, ears are rare: e.g., the head on p. i, from a work attributable to the Kontoleon's finest period, but at c. 50 cm, much smaller; an unpublished head (Syros, AM MN 374) from a figure of c. 56 cm; and ACC, no. 154 (L 76.8 cm). The sole figure with painted ears (ECS, pl. VI*d*; L 49.5 cm) was perhaps also a work of the Kontoleon Sculptor. The head on p. i seems to combine features of its head and the head in pl. 57.

151. Figure *b* has in the past been published as "provenance unknown." However, I was told by the dealer, from whom both *a* and *b* were acquired (albeit some thirteen or fourteen years apart) that it came from Naxos (but see note 135, second paragraph). See Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor: Checklist: [3] comment. Conceivably, *b* was found on Keros, independently of the hoard: by the time it left Greece, it could easily have acquired a Naxian provenance. See note 187. Whether or not the three figures were all found at the same site, it is my belief that they were actually made on Naxos and that their sculptor was a Naxian. The isotopic signatures of both *a* and *c* strongly suggest that the source of their marble was SE Naxos. See chart D: c, d.

152. The third-largest complete figure (see note 145) was, I am told, found covered with a thin layer of clayey earth, evidently as a

deliberate protective measure, which may account for the superior preservation (albeit without any clearly discernible paint) of its unusually well polished surface. There is some evidence that the figure in plate 57 may have been protected by a cloth wrapping (inferred from observations made by E. Hendrix, personal communication; see also note 215). The excellent condition of the largest work of the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor (although, again, without any visible color remaining) may have been due to its reported disposition in a cave, where presumably it received protection from the elements. For further discussion of surface preservation, see pages 102–3 with note 212.

153. P. Wolters, “Marmorkopf aus Amorgos,” *Athenische Mitteilungen* 16 (1891): 47.

154. See *Sculptors*, 92–95 with pls. 28–30.

155. See *Sculptors*, Steiner Master Checklist: note. The figure is similar to [1] and [2], also ascribed to an early phase of the sculptor’s development.

156. The same is true of other works of the sculptor: the early ones tend to have low-slung ankles (see *Sculptors*, pl. 29 [1]), while the ankle lines of the mature figures are less extreme but still unusually low [5].

157. See *Sculptors*, pl. 30[6].

158. On other early works [1, 2], the sculptor tried slightly different ways of indicating the pubic area.

159. NAC, no. 52 (text).

160. But see *Dawn*, pl. 68; *Spirit*, pl. 100:1.

161. Compare ACC, no. 156, cited in note 163.

162. That is, twice the size of the smallest works attributable to the Steiner Sculptor. This disparity in size alone should have alerted me to the fact that *a* was unlikely to have been a very early work of the Steiner Sculptor.

163. Compare, for example, two figures, very likely from the Keros hoard (which suggests that they were made on Naxos—see p. 73 with note 135), attributable to one sculptor: ACC, no. 156 (EL c. 52.0 cm); Christie’s (London), 20 October 1999, lot 136 (L 46.3 cm). On these works the head is large, and the neck correspondingly short, as on the figures of the Rodgers Sculptor. Similarly, the chest and mid-section are compressed. And from the second figure, on which the calves and one foot are preserved, one can see that the cleft perforation was short and the feet small.

164. In addition, a number of fragments from his hand have appeared at auction in recent years: [13, 15, 17, 20]. Two of these [15, 17] were mentioned in *Sculptors*, Naxos Museum Master Checklist: note. Since I have become convinced of the correctness of

these and of some of the other more tentative attributions cited in the note, I have itemized those pieces in the revised checklist as: [14, 18, 19].

165. For the sculptor's full range, see PGP 1984b, 50–51 with figs. 2, 11–13; *Sculptors*, 95–98 with pls. 31–33.

166. This rather masculine treatment has led Brouscari to question whether a torso fragment from his hand might not be a male representation— see Naxos Museum Sculptor Checklist: [14]. However, since the chest on this fragment is rendered in the sculptor's usual manner, there is no reason not to consider it part of a female figure. See the discussion in Chapter 3, p. 62.

167. A device used chiefly by Late Spedos carvers, this occurs, too, on one figure attributed to the Steiner Sculptor (pl. 67*b*). See page 43 and plates 31*c*, 36, 37; see also ACC, nos. 163, 189, 192, 194, and NAC, no. 48, for some other good examples.

168. One senses that the sculptor modified his usual approach on this work in order to “break up” the very long space he had allotted to the area between the arms and knees. By contrast, on the even larger and proportionally broader work in figure 35*c*, there is only a very brief mid-section. I would guess that this was a somewhat earlier work, and that later the sculptor recognized that from an aesthetic viewpoint it was wiser to add a proper mid-section.

169. Note that in *Sculptors*, the figure in pls. 31–32: [9] appears not to have a notch at the end of the cleft. In fact, the notch is present, but was removed by mistake when the photographs were retouched.

170. If any doubts remain as to whether one sculptor was responsible for the figures I have ascribed to different stages of the Naxos Museum Sculptor's development, I would urge the reader to look very closely at the treatment of the arms—and specifically at the slightly slanted top line of the left arm and the widening of the right hand. See PGP 1984b, fig. 11 (esp. b–d).

171. In *Sculptors* (p. 97) I suggested that figure *a* was somewhat more advanced than *c*, but I believe now, given the discussion above, that the reverse is more likely to be true. I also suggested that five stages of the sculptor's development could be recognized in the works available for study. This development was probably not quite as simple and straightforward as I at first thought, and it is likely that more than five stages are represented, or that this carver was in some respects less consistent from piece to piece than some others.

172. Also, isotopic signatures of samples taken from different parts of a sculpture can vary slightly.

173. E.g., in the case of [4]. This piece is composed of three separate fragments from the Keros hoard. Although the joins are quite good, despite the weathering of the breaks, the surface condition of

the three parts is somewhat different. Isotopic signatures for the three fragments confirmed the integrity of the work. In the case of [45], there was some concern that the head, which is somewhat uncharacteristic of the Goulandris Sculptor's style, might not belong to the body. Isotopic analysis put any doubts to rest. By the same token, "bad marriages" can be exposed through isotopic signature testing when style alone fails to convince. This was true of [22]: the head/neck belonging to a figure carved by another sculptor had been attached to the body, both pieces having belonged to the Keros hoard. See Herz, 191–193.

174. This occurred in 1988, following the dismantling of the exhibition "Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections," at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, when a small group of curators, conservators, geologists, and I spent two days studying objects from the exhibition. The "Cycladic Examination Project" was organized by Margaret Ellen Mayo and funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

175. I have attempted to find matches by comparing photographs of pieces from the hoard to actual fragments in Naxos (AM). In one case where I thought there was a good chance that a left foot found on Keros (Naxos, AM 6225) was the missing foot of [8], a cast of the lower left leg and break surface was most generously made by Robert Haber and sent to Naxos, where Olga Hadjianastasiou very kindly checked to see if it joined the foot. Alas, it did not.

176. I have arrived at this total by counting all the examples known to me with at least part of the arms and/or abdomen preserved and adding a head [36] and the lower calves and feet in plate 76*a*. The last two belonged to unusually large figures, and no other known parts were executed in the same scales. Note that one or two of the fragments included in the sixty may be from works of the Bastis Sculptor [44, 53].

177. My calculations are based on the average proportions of certain parts, which tend not to vary very much from piece to piece. The percentages are derived from accurate measurements made by Jack de Vries of seven complete works ranging from small to large and from early to fully mature. In each case I discarded the highest and lowest percentages and took an average of the remainder, which I then rounded off. Some of the estimated lengths offered in chart A differ slightly from those offered in other publications. I believe the new estimates are likely to be more accurate, thanks to de Vries's work.

178. Also: [1]; [40], originally c. 34 cm; Apeiranthos, AM 859. See note 181.

179. See, e.g., PGP 1977,84–87; "The Goulandris Master," in

BMCat., 45–47; PGP 1984b, 51–52; *Sculptors*, 99–112; NAC, 232–233; ECS, 72–77. Note that the monograph entitled *The Goulandris Master* and cited (as *GM*) in *Sculptors* (Goulandris Master Checklist, *passim*) was never published. Elements of it, brought up to date, are, however, included in the present study.

180. See the discussion on page 92.

181. A slightly smaller figure (L 15.6 cm) is very possibly also an early work of the sculptor (see *Sculptors*, pls. 11a.3, 12a.3; Checklist: note, final paragraph with refs.). The work is represented in an advanced state of pregnancy, unlike any of the figures attributed to his hand with confidence, which makes comparison of the front view with the other works somewhat difficult. On the other hand, the rear view and the profile view (fig. 45), aside from the swollen abdomen, are quite similar to those of certain early works that I attribute to the sculptor without any hesitation. The most one can say at this point is that the work might predate the time when the sculptor had found a consistent “voice” of his own, although certain aspects of his recognizable style, such as the shape of the head and the nose (carved clumsily askew), the steep slope of the long shoulders, the rounded back, and the manner in which the backs of the arms are marked on his early works, are present on the little figure. Moreover, its profile is quite like that of [1], while the rear resembles [1] and [6] especially. Its narrow feet conform well to those of the figure in plate 72*b* (but see note 182). Finally, the proportions of the figure are very close to those of [1]; see table IX, no. 4. A still smaller work (L 14.2 cm), brought to my attention after this book was written, could conceivably be another very early work of the sculptor.

182. Indeed, the feet of this figure, although perhaps not unparalleled in the sculptor’s early work (see note 181), are so different from the feet of the vast majority of his works that they alone could cause doubt as to whether this work could be from the same hand as the fully mature figure twice its size shown in plate 75*a*. The name-pieces of the sculptor (an early and a late work), the two have often been illustrated side by side (BMCat., cover and color ill. on p. 51; *Spirit*, pls. 70, 100:3, 4 [detail of upper torsos]). Conceivably, the feet of the smaller work were made slightly narrower than originally intended because of a mishap in the carving of one of them and a consequent attempt to make them match.

183. Overruns at the apex of the pubic triangle are altogether extremely rare in EC sculpture—see, e.g., ACC, no. 181; NAC, no. 55 (pl. V, color)—at least in published photographs, which are not always sharp enough to show overruns clearly. To avoid this error, the craftsman had only to position his incising tool *below* the straight edge in order to give himself a clear view of the top of the leg-cleft, where

the oblique grooves were to end. In the very few cases where this sort of mistake was made, the tool was evidently placed *above* the guide.

184. This badly battered fragment, which belonged to a figure of about 52 cm, appears, in comparison with the sculptor's best work, quite clumsy and awkward, with thick and relatively short forearms.

185. The surface is worn except where details were painted and protected, perhaps by the binding agent (animal fat?) used with the pigment. Especially clear are the ghosts of six once-painted depending curls, including two on the front of the neck. See plates 71*d*, 75*b*. For other works ascribed to the sculptor that have clear ghosts of curls on the back of the head and neck, see [24] (illustrated here in pl. 73*d*, without a previously reattached portion of the back of the neck with curls; but see Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 6.6), [45, 48, 50], and [66] (illustrated in pl. 72*c*).

186. Others are said to have come from Naxos: [2, 3, 10, 27, 30, 40, 42, 43, 44, 73, 74].

187. Many works—especially fragmentary ones—are said to come from Keros (see Goulandris Sculptor Checklist, *passim*) and two, besides [48] (which was reportedly found in a grave at Kornoviglia), are said to come from Amorgos [16, 36], although both of the latter, at least, were acquired in Athens in the late nineteenth century. Possibly, they were found on Keros, in which case they would have been taken to Amorgos and from there to Athens, acquiring an “Amorgian” provenance in the process. (In recent decades, finds from Keros are more likely to have been taken to Naxos.)

188. The closeness of the signatures makes it highly unlikely that the Goulandris Sculptor used more than one marble source, yet there is an *apparent* discrepancy in grain size among the works: the finer grain measurements for some (also Chart D: c-i) correspond to marble from SE Naxos, while the coarser ones (and Chart D: a, b, k) suggest Apollonas in the north. Further analysis, using electron spin resonance spectroscopy (ESR) is planned.

189. *Spirit*, 115–116. The three works are illustrated together in *Spirit*, pl. 70, and in BMCat., ill. on p. 51. See further discussion of the name-pieces and Renfrew's views on page 97.

190. On [45], see note 173.

191. See *Sculptors*, 108–113 with pls. 38–39.

192. Credit for identifying the fragment in plate 76*a* goes to Max Bernheimer. I had had a small front-view photograph of the piece since the 1960s but had not thought to associate it with the Bastis Sculptor.

193. See *Sculptors*, 110–112 with fig. 47 (note error in caption: b and d of the Bastis Sculptor are [2] and [4]).

194. *Spirit*, 115.

195. As indicated in note 176, on occasion I have had difficulty deciding whether a fragment belonged to one sculptor or the other (e.g., Goulandris [44] and [53]). Note that [53] belongs to the group of works with very closely similar isotopic signatures attributed to the Goulandris Sculptor (chart C and table III: 19). No signatures are available for works clearly attributable to the Bastis Sculptor, but it is logical to suppose that the two sculptors obtained their raw material from the same area. Conceivably, this was not far from Phiontas in SE Naxos, where two of the Bastis Sculptor's works were found. (Note that the figure discussed in note 181 may also have been found at Phiontas; see *Sculptors*, 67; Fotou, 37.)

196. It might appear from the quantity of works, relative to the known output of other sculptors, that several artists could have been involved, but in my view it is much more likely that the Goulandris Sculptor was simply more productive than his colleagues, either because he devoted more time than was usual to his craft and less to other pursuits (such as farming or fishing) or because he was unusually long-lived.

197. *Spirit*, 116.

198. One figure of the Goulandris Sculptor appears to have more dramatically (and perhaps experimentally) asymmetrical elbows than the rest of his work. See *Sculptors*, fig. 47e: [22] and pls. 34 and 37: [22].

199. See *Sculptors*, 115–117 with pls. 40–41.

200. The figure in plate 84 lost its calves/feet sometime after George Scharf made his pencil and watercolor drawings of it in 1850, so that our knowledge of the lower extremities is based on the drawings, which in certain other details are demonstrably inaccurate. For example, the right forearm does not extend as far as the left elbow on the actual piece, nor does the inner line of the upper arms in back extend as far in the direction of the shoulders. These are minor points perhaps, but of some importance to the discussion below. I believe Scharf was also inaccurate in his depiction of the left foot in side view—at least in the finished drawing. Knowing how the Schuster Sculptor rendered the feet on other works, one can see that Scharf did initially draw the foot quite well, giving it a gracefully arched sole, but then, perhaps when he no longer had the figure in front of him, he thickened the back of the lower calf, the heel, and the sole, and in doing so altered the contours. See Fitton 1984, 78.

201. There is a fracture at the neckline, and a small section of each shoulder broke away with the neck. The two parts join perfectly. It is perhaps no coincidence that the position of the fracture is very similar on the figures in plates 80c, 82a, and 84 (see drawing in pl. 84a). This suggests that there was something about the way in which these works

were fashioned that caused them to break in roughly the same place.

202. There is no doubt that the heads of these figures belong. For the work in plate 82a, see *Sculptors*, Schuster Master Checklist: note (“Kahane figure”). The piece in plate 82b is intact.

203. See *Stone Vessels*, n. 245.

204. For a discussion of the use by Cycladic sculptors of a harmonic system of angles, see *Sculptors*, 42–46, and *passim* in the discussion of individual artists. The pubic triangle conforms to the smaller of the two complementary angles (Angle A) on half the works of the Schuster Sculptor illustrated here; on the other half the more open angle (A B)/2 was used. The pubic triangle of the new figure conforms to the still larger complementary angle (Angle B). If the Schuster Sculptor had consistently used Angle A, the appearance of a different and *much* more open angle for the new figure would be much more surprising than it is under the actual circumstances. The reader should note that there is no constant correlation in the sculptor’s choice of one angle or the other for the pubic triangle on figures with certain other characteristics, such as extreme shoulder width or narrow forearms.

205. See *Sculptors*, 117–120 with pls. 42–43.

206. Only recently did I become aware of this excellently preserved figure, which has been in Syros (AM) for many decades—first from drawings made by Efi Karanzali and then from a visit to Syros in 1994. The work, which is less than half the size of the largest piece (pl. 86a), has certain noteworthy characteristics in common with it, including a short neck, relatively straight upper arms that, on the rear, are not marked with an inner line, and a pubic triangle that is broad in relation to the hips. Moreover, whereas the large piece has an only slightly indented waist, that of this figure shows no indentation at all. Finally, only four toes are incised on each foot, as on four of the five previously identified works (the figure illustrated in pl. 86d being the exception).

207. It is worth noting that in the work of both the Schuster and the Ashmolean Sculptors (as well as the Berlin Sculptor, discussed below), among others, the buttocks are unnaturalistically high in relation to the front of the figure.

208. Compare [6], described in note 206. The neckline on this work is also similar to that of [6], in that, instead of coming to a sharp point, its origin on the chest has the configuration of a tight curve.

209. See *Sculptors*, 120–122 with pls. 44–45.

210. This treatment of the arms can be seen in more extreme form on the fragmentary male figure in plate 48a.

211. *Spirit*, 115; repeated in Gill and Chippindale, 641. Renfrew goes on to express doubts about the work illustrated in plate 19—again because he is bothered by its hands. Yet if one views that piece

in its proper precanonical context, and together with the work shown in plate 18, one need not condemn it for its naturalistic hands or view it, as Renfrew does, as a copy of another well-known two-figure composition (ACC, no. 257) that I submit represents a later style. (In fact, I am aware of a fragment of a two-figure group—showing about the same amount as that in pl. 26*b*—which is almost certainly a forgery based on the work in pl. 19.) See note 212. I have no idea if he still does, but in the past Renfrew (1969, p. 6: II.11, II.12, n. 28; p. 14) dismissed a number of early works (e.g., those in pl. 21 and figs. 3, 9) because he regarded their style as “curious.” In my view, *every* aspect of a work must be scrutinized for valid determinations to be made. See note 212. An incongruous style by itself should not be sufficient to dismiss a work as false.

212. Of paramount importance in ascertaining the authenticity of a figure is a consideration of the state of its surface, something scholars who tend to distrust unprovenanced works rarely take into account. It is, of course, impossible to examine the surface from photographs with any degree of thoroughness. In addition to weathering, discoloration, rootmarks and other accretions—and, most important, *variation* in the occurrence of these—one should look for paint ghosts (see note 185) and vestiges of actual pigment. The conditions that caused paint to survive and the conditions that favored the formation of paint ghosts are imperfectly understood. Variations in the marble itself and in the degree of surface polish that could have affected its porosity, differences in the amount of paint applied as well as in the binding agents used with the pigments, and variations in the exposure of finished works to elements in the soil and groundwater that promoted erosion or encrustation could all have been important factors. Although certain colossal and unusually large works (e.g., pls. 57, 97*a*) retain strong traces of paint, many others (e.g., pl. 98) do not. It may be that special attention to the surface and especially careful disposition of the finished works were not necessarily conducive to the survival of chromatic effects or even the formation of paint ghosts. See note 152. The latter occurred only as a result of the greater deterioration or discoloration of the surface surrounding the painted places than of those places themselves, which were protected by some agent in the paint. It should be noted that variations in the marble itself (e.g., banding) and its surface condition sometimes give the illusion of paint ghosts. To be valid indicators of authenticity, ghosts must be unmistakably clear.

As I have long suspected and E. Hendrix has confirmed (personal communication), a high percentage of EC works that have not been overzealously cleaned still show at least slight traces of pigment. Often enough these are visible only under magnification and high-intensity

light or by other, more sophisticated means that she has been exploring. Ghosts and traces of actual paint were not much noticed before 1970 (when Preziosi/ Weinberg appeared), and even those that can be seen with the naked eye still are frequently overlooked: see, e.g., Gehrig, where no mention is made of the red stripes on the chest of the Berlin Sculptor's name-piece (c); NAC, no. 64, where I failed to mention similar stripes, although this was corrected in *Stone Vessels*, 182 with fig. 100b. On the work in plate 19, doubted by Renfrew, traces of red paint that I overlooked have been noticed by E. Hendrix (personal communication); see notes to the plates. See also Hendrix, 9 with figs. 6 and 7. Hendrix's work in this area should do much to increase our awareness of the use of paint on Cycladic images (and not only in the expected places). The point to be made here, however, is that even now forgers seem unaware of the utility of painting for purposes of deception, although a few have applied colored washes or stains over parts of their works. I have tried to note the more obvious traces of painted details in the notes on the plates because, until forgers catch on, they serve as very persuasive indicators of authenticity. Even if forgers begin to add painted details using chemically correct pigments, it is unlikely that their binding agents would stand up to scientific scrutiny (E. Hendrix, personal communication).

213. A series of strokes of red on the chest are preserved on several other works, most of them but not all later folded-arm figures, such as the fragmentary work attributed to the Schuster Sculptor (p. ii; fig. 39), or the figure in plate 46 (see notes to the plates). For an unusually early example, see plate 27. For others, see NAC, no. 57; *Stone Vessels*, pl. VIIe, fig. 100.

214. See Gehrig, n. 1.

215. These thoughts developed in conversation with E. Hendrix, who has, to date, observed a clear textile pseudomorph on one unusually well preserved figure (pl. 57). For the position of dress pins in relation to skeletal remains in EC graves, see Tsountas 1899, 101–102; *Stone Vessels*, 177.

216. *Sculptors*, Stafford Master Checklist: [1, 2, 4] and the figure mentioned in the note.

217. See *Sculptors*, 123–126 with pls. 46–47.

218. One (*Sculptors*, pl. 46 [2]) was so severely treated with acid that the arm incisions were obliterated. While one could argue that this was a genuine work unwisely cleaned by immersion in acid, its nose profile is now enough to identify it with other figures that have more superficially distressed surfaces.

219. *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1954), no. 127a (L 16 cm incorrect). The piece is

said to have belonged to the French collector Alphonse Kann, who died in 1948. I am now somewhat skeptical of this association. A number of Cycladic objects from the Alphonse Kann Coll. were given by his heirs to the Louvre in 1949, and I suspect that when, a few years later, the Staffords acquired the piece, the highly reputed collector's name was attached to it to give it a history. In any case, even if he did own the figure toward the end of his life, that would not guarantee its authenticity.

220. Two of the five (including the Stafford piece), like the Louvre figure, have damaged right shoulder points. The other three were, also like the Louvre figure, broken across the top forearm line where they were thinnest. (Two of these were broken in several other places as well.)

221. I am grateful to Anne Detot d'Andriesens for this information. Reproductions of two other EC works in the Louvre, including the head in plate 98, also began to be made at that time.

222. Some scholars still rely on simple visual inspection to identify marble sources. See, e.g., Papathanasopoulos, followed by Katie Demakopoulou in her catalogue entries in *Naxos* (e.g., nos. 111, 149, 150, 155, with references to Papathanasopoulos). Generally, marble that is perceived to be finer has been identified as Parian, while coarser material is thought of as Naxian, when, in fact, finer and coarser marbles are found on both islands, making casual inspection virtually useless. So firm is the belief that Parian is finer than Naxian that Naxian marble regarded as being of "high quality" (i.e., fine-grained) is now described even by Naxians as being "like Parian marble." Information courtesy of Klaus Pfeiffer.

223. Information about the Parian marble sources was supplied by Norman Herz (personal communication).

224. See, e.g., chart D. Marble from nearby Keros is similar to that of SE Naxos, making it unclear at this juncture whether or not Kerian marble was also used for figurative sculpture in the EC II phase. Preliminary investigations (Herz and Doumas), based on statistical probabilities, suggest that it was, but even the authors of that investigation concluded: "More research is needed . . . and additional field samples should be collected and analyzed from Keros to better define its isotopic field. In that way a distinction from Naxos would be more certain and the problem of assigning the many artifacts that now cannot be definitely assigned to either Keros or Naxos would be resolved" (Herz and Doumas, 443).

225. Information courtesy of Father Emmanuel Remoundos, who informs me, further, that one Lefteris Kondylis had a small quarrying operation at two locations—one to the west of the more accessible of the two unfinished Archaic kouroi still in situ, and one to the east.

Quarrying activities at Melanes were halted in 1980 to preserve the area as an archaeological site.

226. *Sculptors*, 124.

227. I have also examined a rather inept forgery of the Louvre figure that has its arms indicated in this way. It, too, surfaced first in France.

228. In fact, this is true of all the incision work on the piece, as can be seen, I believe, on the photographs. It is of interest to note that among suspect works from the 1960s are several that seem to be loosely based on the Louvre figure. These show a similar rendering of the arms. See, e.g., ACC, no. 220.

229. Note also the “false starts” observable on the two torsos: on *d*, at the right upper arm, the top forearm line, and the right side of the pubic triangle; on *e*, at the lower line of the forearms and along the leg-cleft in back. A correction is also observable on *a*, at the top of the pubic triangle, and both *b* and *c* show that the sculptor had difficulty making the left side of the triangle match the right (pl. 92).

230. For another possibly related figure, see ACC, no. 237. Although I saw this piece in 1976, I do not remember it and now have only the published front view to go by. The figure has a proportionally large head and a more prominent nose that is more clearly differentiated from the face than that of other works attributed to the sculptor, but otherwise it appears to combine features of *a* and *b*. It is the size of *b* and has the same angular shoulders and stocky build, and its elbows project in much the same way. Even the pubic triangle is drawn in the same way, with one oblique line lower than the other. The forearms, however, are rendered in much the same manner as on *a*.

231. It is not clear, because of weathering, whether or not there were finger lines on the left hand as well, but presumably there were.

232. Much of the information and interpretation offered here is excerpted from an unpublished dissertation presented to the University of Leiden in 1993. I wish to thank Pat Getz-Gentle for helping me to express myself in English. I thank my wife, Sissel, for her support and her help with the project since I first began taking detailed measurements of EC sculptures.

233. K. Majewski, *Figuralna plastyka Cycladska. Geneza i rozwój form* (Archivum Towarzystwa we Lwow 6, 1935), esp. p. 78 with pl. 164. For a German summary (“Die Kykladische figurale Plastik, ihre Genesis und Entwicklung”), see pp. 102–117.

234. On the subject of deliberate planning, see PGP 1977, 72–82; *Sculptors*, esp. 36–42; ECS2, 51–57.

235. According to my measurements (charts F and G: no. 23), this work, singled out also by Majewski as a prime example of

proportional repetition, conforms with only minimal deviations to the four-part system; moreover, Getz-Gentle's drawing (fig. 40) represents the piece and the proportional divisions quite accurately, despite the fact that she worked from a photograph.

236. The large number of different sizes represented, in my opinion, confirms Getz-Gentle's belief that the EC sculptor did not use standardized units of measurement. See *Sculptors*, 52–53.

237. Nos. 36 and 45 are both attributed to the Naxos Museum Sculptor. (I had not intended to include two works of this sculptor, but did so without thinking. Since making a substitution for one of them would risk introducing errors into the charts and tables, I decided to leave things as they were.) No. 41 is attributed to the Goulandris Sculptor. In note 181 Getz-Gentle discusses the possibility that no. 4 could be from his hand as well.

238. See, e.g., K. Ouy-Parczewska and G. Ouy, "Enquête iconométrique sur la statuaire égéenne du 3^e millénaire à partir des collections du Badisches Landesmuseum et d'autres musées," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in BadenWürttemberg* 19 (1982): 7–26; Gill and Chippindale, 641–647; *Spirit*, 137–141; J. Cherry, as represented by Renfrew in *Spirit*, 138; Matthäus, n. 21. Ouy-Parczewska and Ouy (p. 9) believe Getz-Gentle's analyses are "dangerously oversimplified" and that she "very much underestimates the degree of precision of which [Cycladic] sculptors were capable." For me, Getz-Gentle's ideas make sense in part because of their simplicity, unlike those of Ouy-Parczewska and Ouy. And although the Cycladic sculptor was indeed capable of a high degree of precision, my experience, having recorded a great many measurements for each piece studied, has been that mathematical exactitude is not so very common. Gill and Chippindale seem to believe that if the hypothetical design formulae cannot be shown to have been rigidly and uniformly applied in the same way on every piece, without any possibility for flexibility and variation or even, one supposes, human error, then such formulae exist only in Getz-Gentle's imagination.

239. *Spirit*, 137.

240. That EC sculptors used a compass of some sort is evident. The high degree of accuracy seen in the circular elements of their stone vessels could not have been achieved without such a device. See *Stone Vessels*, 102, 142–143. Whether the same sculptors made figures and vessels or not, the concept of the compass would have been known to all craftsmen.

241. For an exception with a rounded abdomen, see discussion in note 243.

242. These totals have been arrived at using, for table VIII, the deviation of the *maximum width* from the standard—not the average

deviation *per shoulder* (which would make the totals larger).

243. The same appears to be true of the three complete works attributed by Getz-Gentle to the Bastis Sculptor. Of these, I have measured only the largest (no. 42). However, a comparison of the photographs and drawings and especially of the profile views (see *Sculptors*, pl. 39), shows that on the smallest figure (fig. 38a), the sculptor followed the four-part plan more faithfully than on the largest ones (pl. 77c; fig. 20). Most noticeably, the center of the figure and the highest point on the abdomen, and the approximate center of the relatively short abdomen itself, all coincide on the smallest piece, but on the largest works the sculptor lengthened the abdomen, lowering the mid-point nearly to the abdominal groove, which is well below the highest point on the abdomen. He has altered the conventional formula with great and, one senses, deliberate effect.

Checklists of Twenty Sculptors

The checklists that follow are revised versions of the sixteen published in *Sculptors*, with an additional four for sculptors discussed in detail for the first time here ([Chapter 4](#)). The numbering in the previous lists has not been altered, but entries have been added in most cases. (Consequently, for many of the sculptors, there is no longer any consistent logic in the sequence of entries.) Some of the additions are for works cited in the notes at the end of the *Sculptors* checklists, but without an identifying number. I include them in the revised lists because further study has convinced me that full attribution is warranted.

Revised “ownership” details, corrected dimensions (mostly furnished by Jack de Vries), new bibliographic references, and other information (including, albeit without any pretense at completeness, the presence of original painting not previously noted or not clearly visible in published illustrations) can be found here as well. Note that the acquisition dates and ownership history are not known to me in many cases. (Often, *termini ante quem* are provided by the publication of a work or the year in which I first examined it; thus, the actual date of acquisition could have been earlier.)

I have deleted most references to inaccessible catalogues. The bibliographic information is selective rather than comprehensive, with an emphasis on publications with good illustrations. A few unpublished works in Greek museums are listed, despite the current lack of illustrations.

Entries preceded by an asterisk are illustrated here in the plates or the text figures.

THE DOUMAS SCULPTOR

[Pl. 53]

- [1] Naxos, AM 1990. PH 7 cm (most of legs missing). Naxos, Akrotiri T. 5 (excavations of C. Doumas). *Burial Habits*, 87; *Sculptors*, pls. 14–15; *Naxos*, no. 147.
- [2] Oxford, Ash AE.417 (acquired in 1890 or 1909). PH 8.6 cm (most of legs missing). “Lefkes, Paros.” *Sculptors*, pls. 14–15; *Spirit*, pl. 25.
- *[3] Athens, NPGM 1112 (ex de Kolb)

- Coll., acquired in the 1960s or earlier). PH 10.1 cm (legs missing below knees). Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 14–15. [plate 53d](#)
 * [4] Geneva, BMG 202–13. H 13.4 cm. Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 77; PGP 1980, no. 2; PGP 1981, no. 8; *Sculptors*, pls. 14–15; Barbier-Mueller Cat., no. 21, pl. 10 (color). *Comment*: Male figure with two feminine abdominal grooves. Ancient repair holes in left groin and thigh, on either side of a break in the thigh. [plate 53c](#)
- * [5] Dresden, SK, Skulpturensammlung ZV.1991 (acquired in 1903; ex PColl in Laurion). PH 12.4 cm (legs missing from above knees). Find-place unknown. Müller, pl. 1.2; ACC, no. 74; PGP 1980, no. 3. *Comment*: Male figure with three feminine abdominal grooves. [plate 53e](#)
- [6] Paros, AM 657. PH 11.2 cm (legs missing from below knees). Paros, Plastiras T. 9 (excavations of C. Doumas). *Burial Habits*, 99; *Sculptors*, pl. 4b.1. *Comment*: Three barely discernible abdominal grooves are present.
- [7] Paros, AM 659. H 14 cm. Paros, Plastiras T. 9 (excavations of C. Doumas). *Burial Habits*, 99–100; *Sculptors*, pl. 4b.2.
- [8] Paros, AM 658. H 15.3 cm (after neck restoration). Paros, Plastiras T. 9 (excavations of C. Doumas). *Burial Habits*, 99; *Sculptors*, pl. 4b.3.
- * [9] Athens, NAM 4762. H 31.5 cm. Paros, Glypha T. 23 (excavations of C. Tsountas). Tsountas 1898, 155; *Sculptors*, pls. 14–15; *Dawn*, pl. 47 (color). [plate 53b](#)

*[10]

PColl (acquired in 1956). H 15.2 cm. Find-place unknown.
Comment: Male figure with five feminine abdominal grooves. [plate 53a](#)

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM SCULPTOR

[Pl. 7g; figs. 9, 30, 32]

PLASTIRAS FIGURES

*[1]

Geneva, BMG 202–75 (ex J. Müller and de Jouvenel Colls., acquired early in the twentieth century or before). H 18.3 cm. Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 66; PGP 1981, no. 5; *Sculptors*, pls. 1a, 16–17; Barbier-Mueller Cat., no. 22 and pl. 11 (color). *Comment:* Ancient repair holes on either side of breaks in neck and right thigh. Figure 30a

*[2]

New York, MMA 1945.11.18. H 21.8 cm (end of right foot missing). Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 65; PGP 1981, no. 4; *Sculptors*, pls. 16–17. *Comment:* Ancient repair holes in right leg on either side of a break in the knee. Figure 9

[3]

Berlin, SMPK Antikensammlung M.I. 8429 (acquired in 1860), on loan to NPGM. H 23.5 cm. “Delos.” Rohde, no. 1; ACC, no. 67; *Sculptors*, pls. 16–17. *Comment:* Large holes aligned with spine are modern.

[4]

Athens, NAM BE 93–9.10 (acquired in 1993, through confiscation). H? Find-place unknown. Unpublished. *Comment:* Ancient repair holes through the

neck and top of the chest on either side of a break in the neck, with remains of the lead strips used for fastening.

VIOLIN FIGURES

- [5] Athens, NAM BE 93–9.9 (acquired in 1993 with [4], through confiscation). H? Find-place unknown. Unpublished.
- *?[6] PColl. H 23 cm. Find-place unknown. [plate 7g](#); [figure 32b](#)

THE ATHENS MUSEUM SCULPTOR [Fig. 3]

- [1] PColl (ex Gillet Coll., acquired before 1968). H 18.2 cm (legs missing from above knees). Find-place unknown. PGP 1975, 48: b; NAC, no. 4; *Sculptors*, pls. 18, 20. *Comment*: Eye inlays missing, although the left one—polished on the visible surface—was in place as late as 1968 when the photographs for PGP 1975 were taken. Acquired from the same dealer as [4].
- *[2] Athens, NAM 3919 (acquired before 1906). H 30.8 cm. “Amorgos.” Müller, pl. 2.4; PGP 1975, 48: a; PGP 1980, no. 5; *Sculptors*, pls. 18–20; *Dawn*, pl. 46. *Comment*: The left eye inlay remains in place; the right one is missing.
- [3] Figure 3
Oxford, Ash AE.151 (acquired in 1893). PH 9.2 cm (lower torso and upper thighs). “Amorgos.” PGP 1975, 48: c; PGP 1981, no. 7; *Sculptors*, pls. 18, 20. *Comment*: Ancient repair holes in

- [4] both thighs.
 Geneva, BMG 202–59. PH 13.6 cm (head with part of neck). Find-place unknown. PGP 1975, 48: d; *ECS*, pl. Va; *Sculptors*, pls. 19–20. Barbier-Mueller Cat., no. 23, pls. 12 (color, 3/4 view). *Comment*: The right eye inlay remains in place; the left one is missing. Acquired from the same dealer as [1]. Originally as much as 60 cm high, this is the largest Plastiras figure of which there is evidence at present.

THE KONTOLEON SCULPTOR

[Page i; pls. 24, 25, 54–57, 65d]

- [1] Athens, NAM 6140.12. L ca. 17.5 cm. Spedos?, Naxos. *Sculptors*, pls. 21–22; *Spirit*, pl. 52 (color); *Dawn*, pls. 54–55 (color).
- [2] Houston, Menil Collection X 084. L 18.9 cm. “Paros.” ACC, no. 124; *Sculptors*, pls. 21–22.
- [3] Naxos, AM 5461. L 21.4 cm (most of left foot missing). Naxos, Aplomata T. 13 (excavations of N. Kontoleon). Kontoleon 1971*b*, fig. 218a (photo taken at a very poor angle).
- [4] Naxos, AM 5463. L 21.7 cm (left foot missing). Naxos, Aplomata T. 13 (excavations of N. Kontoleon). Kontoleon 1971*b*, fig. 218b (photo taken at a very poor angle). *Comment*: [3] and [4] were found in the same grave, along with a wealth of marble objects (see notes 32 and 51).
- [5] New York, MMA 1977.187.10ab (bequest of Alice K. Bache). L 30

cm (right foot missing). Find-place unknown. PGP 1981, no. 16; *Sculptors*, pls. 21–22.

Comment: Ancient repair holes in the neck and upper torso, on either side of a break at the base of the neck.

*[6]

PColl (ex Gillet Coll., acquired c. 1955). L 31 cm. Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 21–22; *NAC*, no. 23.

Comment: Acquired from the same dealer as [10] and [11].

[plate 55](#)

[7]

PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired before 1968). PL 17.2 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees). Find-place unknown. PGP 1981, no. 15.

Comment: Ancient repair hole above break in left knee.

[8]

Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut der Universität St. 39. PL 17.8 cm (lower part missing from top of pubic area). Find-place unknown. R. Hampe and H. Gropengiesser, *Aus der Sammlung der Archäologischen Institut der Universität Heidelberg* (Heidelberg, 1967), no. 1.

*[9]

David T. Owsley Coll. (ex Wolfe Coll.). PL 18.7 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees). Find-place unknown. *NAC*, no. 25. (Cited in *Sculptors*, Kontoleon Master Checklist: note.)

[plate 56](#)

*[10]

Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll. (ex Gillet Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 69.4 cm (legs missing from knees). Find-place unknown. *ECS*, pl. VIa–b, figs. [41–42](#); *NAC*, no. 24, pl. I; *Glories*, no. 10 (color). (Cited in *Sculptors*, Kontoleon Master

Checklist: note.)

Comment: The largest of all Kapsala variety figures known and the figure with the greatest amount of painted detail preserved (see, e.g., *ECS*, [fig. 42](#)). Acquired from the same dealer as [6] and [11].

Plates 57, 65*d*

*[11]

Harmon Coll. (ex PColl, acquired in the 1950s or 1960s). L 26.9 cm. Find-place unknown. Sotheby's (New York), 20 June 1990, lot 21. *Comment:* Very likely acquired from the same dealer as [6] and [10].

[plate 54](#)

[12]

Oxford, Ash 1929.27 (acquired by R. M. Dawkins in Athens in 1917). L 13.7 cm (left leg missing from calf). "Naxos." *Sculptors*, pl. 5:1; *Spirit*, pl. 69 (left). (Cited in *Sculptors*, Kontoleon Master Checklist: note.)

Comment: One of three figures, including [13], and four lead boat models said to have been found together. See C. Renfrew, "Cycladic Metallurgy and the Aegean Early Bronze Age," *American Journal of Archaeology* 71 (1967): 18, no. 12.

[13]

Oxford, Ash 1929.28 (acquired by R. M. Dawkins in Athens in 1917). L 18 cm. "Naxos." *Sculptors*, pl. 5:2; *Spirit*, pl. 69 (right). (Cited in *Sculptors*, Kontoleon Master Checklist: note.) *Comment:* Said to have been found with [12] and other objects.

*[14]

Harmon Collection (ex Foundation Thétis). L 17.2 cm (missing right foot and lower calf restored). Find-place unknown. Sotheby's

(London), 23 May 1991, lot 19.

Comment: Very likely acquired from same dealer as [6], [10], and [11].

[plate 24a](#); figure 17a

*[15]

Harmon Collection (ex Belgian Coll., acquired in the 1950s). L 18.4 cm. Find-place unknown.

Comment: Traces of red paint on lower left cheek; traces of a dark (once blue) painted right eye. [plate 24b](#)

?[16]

Harmon Collection (ex P. Potamkin Coll., acquired in 1969). L 25.3 cm. Find-place unknown. Sotheby's (New York), 24–25 November 1987, lot 109.

Comment: I remain unsure of the correctness of attributing this work to the Kontoleon Sculptor. Note that, unlike his characteristic figures, this image has superficially incised wrists. However, [10] has red-painted wrist lines.

*[17]

Harmon Collection (ex French Pcoll., acquired before 1960). PL 9.5 cm (head/neck); RL 10.25 cm (top and section at back of head restored). Find-place unknown.

Comment: Traces of red-painted dots and vague mouth similar to those of [10] (probably acquired from the same dealer) and ECS, pl.VIc,d, fig. 77 (= NAC, no. 33), possibly from the same hand although identified as an Early Spedos work. See notes 127 and 150, paragraph 2. Color illustration on p. i.

Note: Another work probably attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor is Sotheby's (London), 10 July 1972, lot 172 (19.7 cm). I have not personally examined the figure, illustrated in the auction catalogue in front view only. Other figures possibly from this sculptor's hand

include a small piece from Naxos—possibly Spedos—in Athens (*Sculptors*, fig. 5d), and two diminutive unpublished figures from grave 13 at Aplomata. A large figure (47 cm to above the ankles) in the JPGM (88.AA.78; ex Steiner Coll.; NAC, no. 22; ECS2, fig. 16) probably should also be attributed to the Kontolean Sculptor. Its head is wider and thicker in profile, and the contour of its shoulders differs from the works listed here. A figure with a very similar head (Naxos, AM 163) is possibly the work of the same sculptor and not the Israel Museum Sculptor as I suggested in *Sculptors* (Israel Museum Master Checklist: note). I now wonder if he was not also responsible for three of the harp players = NAC, nos. 89, 90, and 92 (an “Early Spedos” work).

THE ISRAEL MUSEUM SCULPTOR

[No illustrations]

- | | |
|-----|--|
| [1] | Naxos, AM 164. PL 13.5 cm (legs missing from knees). Spedos, Naxos. Unpublished. |
| [2] | Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History (formerly Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 1966.5186). L 22.9 cm. Find-place unknown. <i>Sculptors</i> , pl. 23; NAC, no. 30. |
| [3] | Athens, NAM 6140.15. PL 19 cm (legs missing from knees). Spedos?, Naxos. Zervos, pl. 109; <i>Sculptors</i> , pl. 23. |
| [4] | Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1974.61.206 (gift of Isidore M. Cohen, acquired before 1963). ACC, no. 128; <i>Sculptors</i> , pl. 23. |
| [5] | Naxos, AM 165. L 45.5 cm. Spedos, Naxos. Unpublished. |

THE BENT SCULPTOR

[Pls. 58–59]

- | | |
|------|-------------------------|
| *[1] | Leiden, Rijksmuseum van |
|------|-------------------------|

- Oudheden I.1961/12.1 (ex Brants Coll.). L 11.4 cm. Find-place unknown. Crouwel, A no. 8.
Plates 58–59: *a*
- [2] Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 263 (acquired in 1961, ex von Schoen Coll.). L 12 cm. Find-place unknown. Fellmann, no. 4.
- *[3] London, BM 1884.12–13.11 (acquired from J. T. Bent). L 14.6 cm (end of left foot missing). Antiparos (SE cemetery, excavations of J.T. Bent). *JHS* 5 (1984): 51, fig. 8; Fitton, figs. 43–44 (color). Plates 58–59: *b*
- *[4] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4997 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). L 17.1 cm. Find-place unknown.
Comment: Red paint is preserved on the face and in the neck grooves.
Plates 58–59: *c*
- *[5] Athens, NPGM 104 (acquired before 1965). L 17.3 cm. BMCat., no. 82; *Dawn*, pl. 64 (color). Plates 58–59: *d*
- *[6] Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1995.1134 (gift of Nelson Goodman, acquired in the late 1950s or early 1960s). L 18 cm (right foot missing). Find-place unknown.
Plates 58–59: *e*
- *[7] PColl. L 21 cm (left foot missing). Find-place unknown. Sotheby's (London), 14 July 1975, lot 213.
Plates 58–59: *f*
- [8] Norwich, SCVA, UEA 339 (acquired in 1966; ex Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham, Dorset). L 21.9 cm. "Terinthos" (Tiryns? [Tirynthos, in Greek]). *ACC*, no.

Note: Among other published figures probably attributable to the Bent Sculptor—none illustrated in three views—see, e.g., ACC, no. 137; Christie's (London), 24 April 1978, lot 484. I am also aware of several unpublished figures closely similar to those listed above, which I attribute to the sculptor's hand, including a fragment (torso/thighs) in the Kanellopoulos Coll. in Athens (no. 1924), eventually to be given to the Kanellopoulos Museum.

THE KARO SCULPTOR

[Pls. 60–61]

- *[1] Harmon Coll. (ex PColl). L 17 cm (end of right foot missing). Find-place unknown. Plates 60–61: *a*
- *[2] Berlin, SMPK, Antikensammlung M.I. 8427 (acquired in 1874). L 19 cm. “Seriphos?” Rohde, no. 2; ACC, no. 145.
Comment: For the pattern of red dots and mouth line, see C. Blinkenberg, “Antiquités prémycéniennes,” *Mémoires des Antiquités du Nord* 2 (1986) 41, fig. 13.
Plates 60–61: *b*
- *[3] Harmon Coll. (ex von Arx Coll.). L 24.4 cm. Find-place unknown.
Comment: Red color preserved in the upper and lower neck grooves, with traces also on the face and left forearm.
Plates 60–61: *c*
- *[4] Berlin, SMPK, Antikensammlung Inv. 31573/2 (ex Karo Coll.). L 29.4 cm (left leg missing from knee). Find-place unknown. Rohde, no. 3; ACC, no. 146.
Plates 60–61: *d*
- *[5] Athens, NAM 6140.20. L 33.5 cm

(left foot and lower calf restored).
Naxos, Spedos T. 14 (excavations
of K. Stephanos). Zervos, pl. 108;
Papathanasopoulos, pl. 54b.

Plates 60–61: *e*

*[6]

PColl (ex von Arx Coll.). PL 37 cm;
RL 38 cm (missing right foot and
end of left foot restored). *NAC*, no.
34.

Plates 60–61: *f*

[7]

Seattle, Seattle Art Museum,
Norman and Amelia Davis Coll.
1964.126 (ex Roland Levy Coll.,
acquired before 1954). PL 56 cm
(missing feet incorrectly restored;
RL 60.7 cm). “One of the small
islands SE of Naxos, area of
Herakleia.” This, and the dealer
involved, strongly suggest that the
work belonged to the Keros hoard
(see note 135, second paragraph).
M. B. Rogers, “Recent Acquisitions
of the Seattle Art Museum,”
Archaeology 17 (1964): 268 (ill.
shows figure before restoration);
NAC, no. 36.

Comment: Although twice its size,
the figure is closest to [4]; both
works have an unusual curvature
of the inner line of the left arm.
See also the Note below.

Note: Among other published figures possibly attributable to the Karo Sculptor—none illustrated in three views—see, e.g., *ACC*, nos. 141–144, 146, 147. Conceivably, the third-largest complete figure (see note 145) is also from the hand of the sculptor. While there is little about the smaller works attributed to him to suggest that he could have carved this work, the contours of the body and the rendering of such details as the breasts (at different levels) and the thigh-tops closely resemble [7], which was much larger and more mature than any of the smaller works, but less than half the size of the colossal one at 132 cm. See *ECS*, fig. 34; also fig. 33, with caption, for other colossal works possibly linked to the sculptor. Without additional works intermediate in size and level of refinement between [7] and these

oversized sculptures, one can do little more than speculate about their authorship. However, since it is virtually certain that the sculptors of the largest images honed their skills making much smaller pieces, and since it is unlikely that all their earlier works are lost, it makes sense to look for some of these in the corpus of known figures.

THE COPENHAGEN SCULPTOR

[Pls. 62–63; [figs. 33–34](#)]

- *[1] Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll.
L 56.8 cm (missing right foot restored). Find-place unknown.
PGP 1981, figs. 54–55; PGP 1984b, [figs. 5–7](#): a; *Sculptors*, pls. 24–25; NAC, no. 37; *Glories*, no. 12.
[plate 63c](#); figure 17d
- *[2] PColl. L 57.2 cm. Find-place unknown. Sotheby's (London), 15 July 1980, lot 135; PGP 1984b, figs. [5–7](#): b; *Sculptors*, pls. 24–25.
[Figure 33](#)
- [3] Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet 1624 (acquired in 1861 in Athens). PL 49.7 cm (legs missing from just above knees). “Amorgos.” PGP 1984b, figs. 5–7: c; *Sculptors*, pls. 24–25; Rasmussen, [fig. 1](#) (front and rear in color).
- *[4] Athens, NPGM 257 (acquired before 1965). L 70.7 cm. “Naxos.” PGP 1981, 19, 23, figs. 52–53; PGP 1984b, figs. 5–7: d; *Sculptors*, pls. 24–25; *Spirit*, pl. 63 (color); *Dawn*, pl. 66 (color). [plate 63d](#)
- [5] PColl. PL 15.6 cm (head/neck). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pl. 24.
- [6] PColl. PL 13.6 cm (head with trace of neck). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pl. 24.
- *[7] PColl (acquired in 1961). PL 20.4 cm (head; top damaged). Possibly from the Keros hoard. Plates 62–63: a

*[8]

Harmon Coll. (ex Halphen Coll., acquired before WW II). PL 31.2 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from just above knees). Conceivably from the Keros hoard; see note 135. DrouotRichelieu (Paris), 8 December 1995, lot 31 (color).

Plates 62–63: *b*

?[9]

Harmon Coll. (ex Woodner Family Coll., acquired in 1962 or 1963). PL 31 cm (lower torso, with part of right hand, and thighs to just above knees). Keros hoard. NAC, no. 41. *Comment:* It did not occur to me until I had finished this study that the exceptionally fine fragment (known to me for many years) could be from the sculptor's hand, even though not enough is preserved to permit a truly informed attribution to be made at this time. Nevertheless, the piece is carved in a banded marble—the banding visible along the profile—similar to that of [1]; the outline contours are rather like those of [1] and [3]; the profile contours are especially close to those of [3]; and the spine is marked on the flat back as on [8]. The pubic area (which may have been painted) lacks the horizontal groove found on other works attributed to the Copenhagen Sculptor, but otherwise the treatment is similar, although somewhat more rounded and refined, as would befit a figure that originally measured more than a meter. In terms of size, the fragment could conceivably be from the same work as [7].

Note: On the possibility that the fragmentary two-figure group in [fig.](#)

34 is also from the Copenhagen Sculptor's hand, see page 73, with note 133.

THE KARLSRUHE/WOODNER SCULPTOR

[Pls. 64–66]

- *[1] Harmon Coll. (ex Woodner Family Coll., acquired in 1968 or 1969). L 86.8 cm. Keros hoard. *ECS*, 64–66, figs. 37–38, 56–57; *NAC*, no. 39 (L 86.3 cm), pl. II.
Plates 64–66: *a*
- *[2] Karlsruhe, BL 1975/49. L 89 cm (most of left foot missing).
“Naxos”? *ACC*, no. 151 (findplace unknown); *ECS*, 64–66, figs. 58–59.
Plates 64–66: *b*
- *[3] Athens, NPGM 724. L 140 cm.
“Keros, in a cave.” Added as an addendum to a printing of *BMCat.* and the Greek edition: C. Doumas, *Κυκλαδική Τέχνη. Αφχαία Γλυπτική και Κεραμική από τη Σνλλογή Ν.Π. Γονλανδρή* (Athens, 1984), no. 211; C. Renfrew, “A New Cycladic Sculpture,” *Antiquity* 60 (1986): 132–134; *Spirit*, 156–159, pls. 2, 78, 96: 20, 100: 8, 103 (most in color); *Dawn*, pl. 75 (color). N.B.: all previous publications (with the exception of *Κνεκλαδική Τώχνη*, which illustrates the work before restoration, and C. Doumas, *Early Cycladic Culture: The N.P. Goulandris Collection*, Athens, 2000, no. 22) show the left calf and foot restored. The missing portion replaced the restoration early in 1997. *Comment*: According to reliable sources, the figure was actually found about a decade

before it entered the NPGM (before its opening in 1986)—that is, around the same time that [2] was acquired by the BL. Plates 64–66: c

THE FITZWILLIAM SCULPTOR

[No illustrations]

- [1] Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, 1962.10. L 19.6 cm (left foot missing). Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 26–27.
- [2] Athens, Benaki Museum (gift of Christos G. Bastis). L 20.5 cm. Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 26–27; Bastis, no. 48.
- [3] Herakleion, AM 122. L 23.8 cm. Crete, Koumasa, communal T. (excavations of S. Xanthoudides). S. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* (London, 1924) no. 122, pl. 21; *Sculptors*, pls. 26–27.
- [4] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.33.1901 (gift of R. C. Bosanquet). L 25.7 cm (nose missing). “Amorgos.” ACC, no. 161; *Sculptors*, pls. 26–27.

THE STEINER SCULPTOR

[Pl. 67]

- [1] Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art S.1974–I. L 34.5 cm. Find-place unknown. PGP 1984b, figs. 8–10: a, *Sculptors*, pls. 28–30. *Comment*: Very likely from the same source as [8].
- [2] Naxos, AM 4674 (acquired through confiscation). L 42 cm. “Naxos.” Zapheiropoulos, no. 9; *Sculptors*,

- pl. 28.
Comment: Acquired with Naxos Museum Sculptor [10] and Goulandris Sculptor [10].
- [3] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 22.7 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees). Keros hoard.
Sculptors, pls. 28–30; Sotheby's (London), 6 July 1995, lot 32 (color).
- *[4] Athens, NPGM 654 (acquired before 1965). L 48 cm. Find-place unknown. PGP 1984b, figs. 8–10: b; *Sculptors*, pls. 28–30; *Spirit*, pl. 51 (color); *Dawn*, pl. 74 (color). plate 67b
- [5] Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Haynes) 86.5 (ex PColl, acquired before 1967). L 50.5 cm. Find-place unknown. PGP 1984b, figs. 8–10: c; *Sculptors*, pls. 28–30.
- *[6] Malibu, JPGM 88.AA.30 (ex Steiner Coll., acquired in 1979). L 59.9 cm. Find-place unknown. PGP 1984b, figs. 8–10: d; *Sculptors*, pls. 28–30. plate 67c
- [7] PColl. PL 13.4 cm (head with part of neck). Keros hoard. Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 5.2–3.
- *[8] PColl. L 21.3 cm. Find-place unknown. Sotheby's (London), 11 July 1989, lot 170 (color; L 24.1 cm). Cited in *Sculptors*, Steiner Sculptor Checklist: note.
Comment: This work, known since at least 1971, is very likely from the same source as [1]. plate 67a

- *[1] PColl (acquired in 1975). PL 41.8 cm (most of feet missing). Find-place unknown. *NAC*, no. 52. *Comment*: Acquired from the same dealer as [2], which is encrusted with similar hard deposits. plate 68a
- *[2] Harmon Coll. (ex Rodgers Coll., acquired in 1972; “from English coll., after World War II” [information I distrust]). L 53.7 cm. Find-place unknown. Christie’s (New York), 15 December 1992, lot 6 (color). *Comment*: Acquired from the same dealer as [1], which is encrusted with similar hard deposits.
- *[3] Athens, NPGM 282 (acquired before 1965). L 74 cm. Find-place unknown. *BMCat.*, no. 173; *Spirit*, pl. 57 (color); *Dawn*, pl. 68 (color). plate 68c

THE NAXOS MUSEUM SCULPTOR [Pls. 69–70; *fig. 35*]

- [1] Naxos, AM 169. L 18 cm. Phiontas, Naxos (confiscated from looters in 1948). PGP 1984b, figs. 11–13: a. *Comment*: From same cemetery as Bastis Sculptor [1, 2] and Berlin Sculptor [6].
- *[2] Athens, NAM 6140.19. L 19.7 cm. Naxos, Phyrroges, T. 28 (excavations of K. Stephanos). Papathanasopoulos, 138–39, pl. 72a; Preziosi/Weinberg, pl. 5.4, 5; fig. 2; *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33; *Naxos*, no. 157 (color).
Plates 69–70: a
- [3] Naxos, AM 205. L 21 cm.

- [4] Aplomata (found in 1951 by N. Kontoleon). PGP 1984b, fig. 2.2 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 262 (ex von Schoen Coll., acquired before 1955). L 27.8 cm. Find-place unknown. Fellmann, no. 7; *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33.
- [5] PColl. PL 25 cm (head/neck missing). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33.
- *[6] PColl. L 39.5 cm. Find-place unknown. Fellmann, 20 and fig. 11; PGP 1984b, figs. 11–13: b. *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33.
Comment: From same dealer as Goulandris Sculptor [13], [15], [23], and [32], and ultimately perhaps from the same source; see also Schuster Sculptor [3].
Plates 69–70: c
- [7] Naxos, AM 194. PL 42 cm (ends of feet damaged). Naxos. PGP 1984b, figs. 11–13: c.
- [8] Naxos, AM 195. L 48 cm. Naxos. PGP 1984b, fig. 2.3.
- [9] Harmon Coll. (ex Woodner Family Coll., acquired in 1967 or 1968). L 51.4 cm. Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33; *NAC*, no. 50. See note 169.
- *[10] Naxos, AM 4676 (acquired through confiscation). L 58.8 cm. “Naxos.” Zapheiroupolou, no. 13; *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33.
Comment: Acquired with Steiner Sculptor [2] and Goulandris Sculptor [10]. Figure 35a
- *[11] Athens, NPGM 598 (acquired before 1965). L 71.6 cm. “Naxos.” PGP 1984b, figs. 11–13: d; *Sculptors*, pls. 31–33; *Spirit*, pls. 100.9, 122 (color); *Dawn*, pl. 72

- (photo printed in reverse; color).
Figure 35b
- *[12] PColl (ex Lawrence Coll., acquired in the late 1950s). L 25 cm. Find-place unknown. Christie's (New York), 30 May 1997, lot 107 (color).
Plates 69–70: *d*
Comment: Traces of red paint in the neck grooves and the top of the spine.
- [13] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 15.2 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from just above knees). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 10–11 December 1992, lot 267.
- [14] Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 1401. PL 18 cm (upper torso fragment). Find-place unknown. Brouscari, 508–509, [fig. 10](#). See *Sculptors*, Naxos Museum Master Checklist: note.
- [15] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 11 cm (head/neck, left shoulder missing as well as legs from knees). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1995, lot 29.
- *[16] PColl. PL 20 cm (legs missing from knees). Find-place unknown.
Plates 69–70: *b*
Comment: Traces of red paint on the face and in the neck/torso juncture.
- [17] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 14.3 cm (calves and feet only). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 13–14 December 1990, lot 148c. See *Sculptors*, Naxos Museum Master Checklist: note.
- *[18] PColl (ex Salavin Coll., acquired before 1973). PL 61 cm (to just

- above knees; left shoulder/part of chest missing). Most probably from the Keros hoard. Hotel Drouot (Paris), 14 November 1973, lot 35. See *Sculptors*, Naxos Museum Master Checklist: note.
- [19] Figure 35c
PColl. PL 21 cm (upper torso with most of left forearm). Probably from the Keros hoard. Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion 56 (Basel), 19 February 1980, lot 3. See *Sculptors*, Naxos Museum Master Checklist: note.
- [20] PColl. PL 25.6 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees; upper arms and torso damaged). Keros hoard. Drouot-Richelieu (Paris), 30 September 1997, lot 458.
- [21] Naxos, AM 5943. PL 8.2 cm (lower legs from above knees only). Aplomata, Naxos (excavations of N. Kontoleon). Unpublished.

Note: See also Schefold, no. 2 (illustrated in front view only). I have not examined this large figure (L 60 cm), which, if genuine, should also be attributed to the Naxos Museum Sculptor. A number of fragments from the Keros hoard, besides those inventoried here, are also attributable to the sculptor but remain unpublished.

THE GOULANDRIS SCULPTOR

[Pls. 71–76; *figs. 36–37*]

- [1] Norwich, SCVA, UEA 343
(acquired in 1955). L 16.4 cm.
Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 36, 37; SCVA Cat., no. 300.
- *[2] Athens, NPGM 251 (acquired before 1965). L 32.7 cm. “Naxos.”
PGP 1984b, figs. 14–16: a;
Sculptors, pls. 34, 36, 37; *Spirit*, pls.

70 (left), 100: 4 (color).

Comment: Vestiges of red-painted vertical strokes discernible on the forehead, lower cheeks, and forearms.

[plate 72b](#), figure 37

- [3] Arthur and Madeleine Lejwa Coll. (acquired in the early 1960s). PL 20 cm (lower part missing from abdominal groove). “Naxos” (but possibly from the Keros hoard). ACC, no. 174; NAC, no. 74.

Comment: Vestiges of red paint discernible on the forehead (two vertical strokes), nose bridge, chest, and forearms.

- [4] San Francisco, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (William H. Nobel Bequest Fund) 1981.42. L 33.6 cm. Keros hoard. ECS, figs. 60–61; NAC, no. 73.

- [5] Norwich, SCVA, UEA 342 (acquired in 1961). PL 28 cm (legs missing from knees). Probably from the Keros hoard. ACC, no. 169; SCVA Cat., no. 301.

- [6] David Emil Coll. (ex A. Emil Coll., acquired in the early 1960s). PL 32.4 cm (feet missing). Possibly from the Keros hoard. ACC, no. 180; *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 36–37.

- [7] Naxos, AM 5800. L 35.2 cm. Naxos, Aplomata T. 23. Kontoleon 1972a, pl. 136a (profile); Kontoleon 1972b, fig. 85 (profile). *Comment:* Found with a head that resembles the sculptor’s work but is not attributable to him with confidence. See Kontoleon 1972a, 151 with pl. 134.

- [8] PColl. L 38.2 cm (left foot missing). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 178 (without the head/neck); *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 36–37; NAC, no.

- *[9] 75.
Houston, Menil Collection CA 6018
(acquired in 1960). PL 22.3 cm
(head/neck missing as well as legs
from knees). Probably from the
Keros hoard. ACC, no. 179.
plate 74c
- [10] Naxos, AM 4675 (acquired through
confiscation in 1964). L 39 cm
(most of left foot missing).
“Naxos.” Zapheirpoulou, no. 11.
Naxos, no. 154 (color).
Comment: Acquired with Steiner
Sculptor [2] and Naxos Museum
Sculptor [10].
- *[11] Thessaloniki, AM B.E.10660
(acquired through confiscation in
the late 1960s). PL 21.3 cm (head/
neck missing as well as legs from
knees). Find-place unknown (but
possibly from the same source as
the Keros hoard, although not part
of it). *Deltion, Chronika* 24 (1969):
pl. 299b. plate 74b
- [12] Athens, Kanellououlos Museum
2075. PL 13 cm (head/neck
missing as well as much of upper
torso and legs from upper thighs).
Find-place unknown. Brouscari,
509, fig. 9.
- [13] PColl (acquired in 1965). L 41.9
cm. Find-place unknown. PGP
1984b, figs. 14–16: b; *Sculptors*,
pls. 34, 36–37; NAC, no. 78 (see pl.
IX).
Comment: From the same dealer as
[15], [23], and [32], and
ultimately perhaps from the same
source; see also Naxos Museum
Sculptor [6] and Schuster Sculptor
[3].
- [14] Naxos, AM KE.63.4/2374. PL 14.8
cm (head with most of neck
missing as well as lower part from

- abdominal groove. Kavos, Keros (excavations of C. Doumas).
Unpublished.
- [15] Des Moines, Des Moines Art Center
1964.3 (Coffin Fine Arts Trust
Fund). PL 44.1 cm (end of right
foot and much of left foot missing;
repair of break obscures neck
groove). Find-place unknown.
ACC, no. 168; *NAC*, no. 79.
Comment: From same dealer as
[13], [23], and [32], and
ultimately perhaps from the same
source; see also Naxos Museum
Sculptor [6] and Schuster Sculptor
[3].
- [16] London, BM 1984.12–13.6 (gift of
J. T. Bent, acquired in Athens). PL
16.3 cm (torso, with part of neck
to abdominal groove or just
above). “Amorgos.” Fitton, fig. 82.
- [17] Athens, NPGM 988 (ex Erlenmeyer
Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 18.6
cm (abdomen/thighs). Keros
hoard. *ACC*, no. 176; Sotheby’s
(London), 14–15 July 1990, lot
155 (color).
- [18] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll.,
acquired c. 1955). PL 13.1 cm
(torso, abdominal groove). Keros
hoard. PGP 1984b, fig. 10;
Sotheby’s (London), 9 July 1990,
lot 126 (color front, black/white
profile and rear views).
- [19] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll.,
acquired c. 1955). PL 15.6 cm
(torso to abdominal groove). Keros
hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 11.
- [20/33] [20]: Richmond, VMFA 85.1511
(gift of W. B. Causey; ex PColl,
acquired in 1967). PL 18.4 cm
(torso to upper thighs). Keros
hoard. *ACC*, no. 173; *NAC*, no. 82.
Joins [33]: Malibu, JPGM

88.AA.82 (ex Steiner Coll., acquired in 1974). PL 14.8 (head/neck). From the same site as the Keros hoard. *NAC*, no. 83.

Comment: For [20] and [33] rejoined, see *ECS2*, fig. 69. PL of the two parts rejoined 33.2 cm. Note that [33] and [38] were acquired from the same dealer and are not, like [20], from the Keros hoard, although [33] at least must have been found at the same site, which was presumably Keros.

[21] Canberra, Australian National Gallery 1982.2232. RL 55 cm (missing ends of feet incorrectly restored). Possibly from the Keros hoard—acquired from the same dealer as the hoard. Sotheby's (London), 12 July 1971, lot 132 (L 54.6 cm); PGP 1978, 3–5 with figs. 5–6; *Sculptors*, pls. IXb, 35–36.

[22] PColl. PL 29 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 37.

[23] PColl (ex Bill Coll.). PL 45 cm (legs missing from knees; repair at base of neck obscures groove). Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion 22 (Basel), 13 May 1961, no. 1. Probably from the Keros hoard. *ACC*, no. 170; PGP 1978, fig. 6 (third figure from right, shown with lower legs restored).

Comment: From same dealer as [13], [15], and [32], and ultimately perhaps from the same source; see also Naxos Museum Sculptor [6] and Schuster Sculptor [3].

*[24] PColl. PL 22.2 cm (torso, with part of neck, to abdominal groove). Keros hoard. Preziosi/Weinberg,

- pl. 6: 5.6; Drouot-Richelieu (Paris), 30 September 1997, lot 456 (color). plate 73*d*
- (*)[25] Bloomington, IUAM 1976.25 (gift of Thomas T. Solley). L 60.2 cm. Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 167, pl. V; PGP 1984b, figs. 14–16: c; *Sculptors*, pls. IXa, 36, fig. 45; NAC, no. 85. plate 76*b* (detail)
- [26] Harmon Coll. (ex C. Bastis Coll.; ex PColl). L 61.7 cm (right elbow and end of right foot damaged). “Paros” (but very likely incorrect). *Sculptors*, pl. 35 (detail), figs. 42b, 43a; NAC, no. 86; Bastis, no. 50 (front view in color, profiles and rear in black/white).
- *[27] Athens, NPGM 281 (acquired before 1965). L 63.3 cm. “Naxos.” PGP 1984b, figs. 14–16: d; *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 36–37, figs. 42c, 44; *Spirit*, pls. 70 (right), 73, 100: 3; 101: 5 (all in color); *Dawn*, pl. 67 (color). Plates 75*a*, 76*c*
- *[28] Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jaharis, Jr. Coll. PL 33.9 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from knees). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pls. 34, 35, 37; NAC, no. 87. plate 74*d*
- [29] Karlsruhe, BL 70/550. PL 10.2 cm (head/neck). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 171; *Sculptors*, figs. 42g, 43b.
- *[30] Athens, NPGM 256 (acquired before 1965). PL 11.2 cm (head/neck). “Naxos.” BMCat., no. 63; *Spirit*, pl. 70 (middle; color). plate 71*c*
- [31] Columbia, University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology 1976.214. PL 11.7 cm (head/neck, chin damaged). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 177, pl. V; *Sculptors*, fig. 42e; for the painted details, see esp. NAC, no. 81.

- [32] PColl (ex Ben Nicholson Coll.). PL 13.4 cm (head/neck). Find-place unknown. *Early Art*, no. 23; *Sculptors*, fig. 42f. *Comment*: From same dealer as [13], [15], and [23], and ultimately perhaps from the same source; see also Naxos Museum Sculptor [6] and Schuster Sculptor [3].
- [33] See [20].
- [34] Kurt Flimm Coll. PL 11 cm (head). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 172 (text only); PGP 1978, fig. 1.
- [35] Malibu, JPGM 83.AA.316.2. PL 10.4 cm (head with short section of neck). Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, no. 2, fig. 3; ECS (and ESC2), figs. 39 (text only correct; illustration shows [59]), 40, 53 (top right).
- [36] Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet 4697 (acquired in 1896 in Athens). PL 24.6 cm (head/neck). "Amorgos." *Sculptors*, pl. VIId, fig. 42h; Rasmussen, figs. 8 (four views in color), 9; *Spirit*, pl. 71 (color); *Dawn*, pl. 76 (color).
- [37] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 5.1 cm (abdomen/thigh fragment). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 175. Sotheby's (London), 14 December 1990, lot 146 (right).
- *[38] Malibu, JPGM 88.AA.81 (ex Steiner Coll., acquired in 1974). PL 26.8 cm (head/neck and feet missing). Find-place unknown (but very likely from the same source as the Keros hoard, although not part of it). NAC, no. 77; ECS2, fig. 68. *Comment*: From same dealer as [33]. plate 74a
- [39] PColl. PL 10.5 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from upper thighs). Find-place unknown.

- Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1984, lot 190. *Comment*: From same source as [68].
- [40] Apeiranthos (Naxos), AM 749. PL 10.5 cm (torso to abdominal groove). "Panormos, Naxos" (but Keros more likely). Unpublished. *Comment*: This is one of the smaller works of the sculptor and, like [1], has a grooved spine.
- [41] PColl. PL 20.05 (lower part missing from abdominal groove). Keros hoard. NAC, no. 76. *Comment*: Abundant red-painted dots on face, torso, and forearms; vertical strokes of red across abdomen, just above break.
- *[42] Athens, NAM 5390. PL 15 cm (torso, with neck, to abdominal groove). "Naxos." plate 73a
- [43] Apeiranthos (Naxos), AM 753. PL 12.2 cm (torso to abdominal groove). "Panormos, Naxos" (but Keros more likely). Unpublished.
- [44] Apeiranthos (Naxos), AM 754. PL 20.2 cm (upper part missing to left forearm; legs missing from knee on left, above knee on right side). "Panormos, Naxos" (but Keros more likely). Unpublished. *Comment*: Possibly a work of the Bastis Sculptor, although there is a remote chance that this fragment joins [75]—by my calculations both pieces are from figures with an original L of c. 52 cm. See note 195.
- [45] PColl (ex French PColl, acquired before 1928). PL 43 cm (legs missing from above knees). Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, fig. 43c; NAC, no. 84.
- *[46] PColl (acquired before 1963). PL 52.5 cm (legs missing from knees).

- *[47] Keros hoard. Plates 71*d*, 75*b*
PColl. PL 9.9 cm (head/neck with
trace of right shoulder). Keros
hoard. plate 71*a*
- [48] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3094
(gift of J. Delamarre, 1896). PL
11.5 cm (head/neck with trace of
right shoulder). "Grave at
Kornoviglia, Amorgos." Hamiaux,
no. 13. *Comment*: Excellent ghosts
on the rear, for painted hair with
depending curls.
- *[49] PColl. PL 13.8 cm (head/neck with
trace of left shoulder). Keros
hoard. plate 71*b*
- *[50] Norwich, SCVA, UEA 410
(acquired in 1970). PL 11.8 cm
(lower calves/feet). Probably from
the Keros hoard. SCVA Cat., no.
302. plate 76*a*
- [51] François de Menil Coll. (acquired
before 1962). PL 13.5 cm (head/
neck). Possibly from the Keros
hoard. *The John and Dominique de
Menil Collection* (Museum of
Primitive Art, New York, 1962),
no. 32 (profile).
- [52] Athens, NPGM 989 (ex PColl,
acquired in 1968). PL 11.4 cm
(calves, with trace of thighs, and
feet). Keros hoard. *NAC*, no. 80.
- [53] Athens, NPGM 1066 (ex
Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c.
1955). PL 18.7 (front), 19.6 (rear)
(thighs/calves). Keros hoard.
Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1990,
lot 122 (color). *Comment*: Dark
red-painted stripe running from
above left knee to mid-calf.
Possibly from a work of the Bastis
Sculptor. See note 195.
- [54] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll.,
acquired c. 1955). PL 11.8 cm
(thighs). Keros hoard. Sotheby's

- [55] (New York), 20 June 1990, lot 24. Athens, NPGM 985 (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 12.1 cm (thighs). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 13–14 December 1990, lot 150.
- [56] PColl. PL 34 (feet very worn, probably shortening original L slightly; weathering, due apparently to immersion in water, has caused leg cleft to broaden and the feet to become narrower, especially along their inner edges). *Art Now/U.S.A., The National Art Museum and Gallery Guide* 5, no. 9 (May 1986): 11 (advertisement of the Azuma Gallery, New York; feet cut off in photo).
- [57] PColl. PL 30 cm (legs missing from knees; head/neck may not belong). Keros hoard. C. Laisné, *Art of Ancient Greece: Sculpture, Painting, Architecture* (Paris, 1995), ill. on p. 22 (right, in color); PL 35 cm.
- [58] Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire (ex PColl, acquired in the 1960s). PL 30 cm (lower part missing from below abdominal groove). Probably from the Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 2 July 1996, lot 76 (color).
- [59] PColl. PL? (head/neck with trace of shoulders). Keros hoard. *ECS* (and *ESC2*), fig. 39 (text below caption erroneously refers to [35]).
- [60] PColl. PL 16.5 cm (head and all but trace of neck missing as well as lower part from abdominal groove; slightly more preserved on rear). Possibly from the Keros hoard. Sotheby's (New York), 17 December 1996, lot 42.
- [61] PColl (ex Adams Coll., acquired before 1951). PL 15 cm (thighs

- with trace of abdomen and part of lower back—enough to reveal absence of spine). Conceivably from the Keros hoard: see note 135. Sotheby's (London), 10 December 1996, lot 138.
- [62] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 11.6 cm (calves with trace of thighs and feet with damaged toes). Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 8 (left).
- *[63] PColl. PL 17.3 cm (torso, with part of neck, to abdominal groove). Keros hoard. plate 73b
- *[64] PColl. PL 17.3 cm (torso, to abdominal groove). Keros hoard. plate 73c
- [65] PColl. PL 13 cm (head/neck). Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 2 (top, second from left).
- *[66] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 5010 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). PL 30.7 cm (legs missing from knees). Keros hoard. *Comment:* Clear paint ghosts are visible for the eyes, right brow, and hair, with depending curls. plate 72c
- *[67] PColl. PL 11.9 (torso with upper thighs). Find-place unknown. plate 72a
- *[68] PColl. PL 20 cm (torso with legs to well below knees). Find-place unknown. *Comment:* From same source as [39]. plate 72d
- [69] Athens, NPGM 1021 (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 9 cm (calves/feet, the right foot damaged). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1992, lot 285 (top, third from left).
- [70] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 10.4 cm (calves/feet). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1992,

- [71] lot 285 (top, far right). Athens, NPGM 1056 (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 13.2 cm (thighs). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1992, lot 286 (top, middle).
- [72] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 8.5 cm (thighs). Keros hoard. Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1992, lot 286 (bottom, far left).
- [73] Apeiranthos (Naxos) AM 879. PL 10 cm (abdomen/thighs). "Panormos, Naxos" (but Keros more likely). Unpublished.
- [74] Apeiranthos (Naxos) 923. PL 12.5 cm (abdomen/thighs). "Panormos, Naxos" (but Keros more likely). Unpublished.
- [75] Naxos, AM KE.1963.52/2375. W c. 12.8 cm (upper torso to top of forearms). Kavos, Keros (excavations of C. Doumas). Unpublished.
- [76] *Comment:* See [44]. Naxos, AM KE.1963.~/2386. PL c. 15.5 cm (calves/feet). Kavos, Keros (excavations of C. Doumas). Unpublished.

Note: Many badly damaged fragments from the Keros hoard and from sanctioned investigations on Keros may well be from the Goulandris Sculptor's hand but, because of the extent and condition of their preservation, are difficult to identify as his. Besides these, I am aware of unpublished fragments from both these sources, as well as several (from Naxos apparently) in the AM of Syros and at least thirteen in Apeiranthos. (The latter are said to be from Panormos but, in the opinion of G. Kastrisios, former custodian of the museum, are more likely to have been found on Keros.) These are not all inventoried above (including, e.g., Naxos, AM 4224 and 6225; Apeiranthos, AM 593, 878), although they are, I believe, attributable to this sculptor. See also PGP 1984a, fig. 2: at least several heads from the Keros hoard attributable to the sculptor—top row, second [65] and third from left; bottom row, first and third from left. A number of fragments of works

of the Goulandris Sculptor have been incorrectly joined to fragments of works by other sculptors also represented in the hoard (e.g., possibly, [57]). Finally, I am aware of a complete figure (PL 53 cm; ends of feet damaged) but have seen only poor photos of it; I cannot recall if it shows any special features (i.e., separated arms, fingers, spine).

Some of the works mentioned here are included in figure 36 and in charts A and B as well as in the statistics for the Goulandris Sculptor; a number of the fragments in Apeiranthos as well as most of those from investigations on Keros are not. Also not included is the small work (discussed in note 181) that is possibly from his hand.

THE BASTIS SCULPTOR

[Pls. 77–78; fig. 38]

*[1]

Naxos, AM 168 (confiscated from looters in 1948). L 22.5 cm (left foot missing). Phiontas, Naxos. PGP 1981, 25, 27–28, figs. 58–59; *Sculptors*, pls. 38–39.

Figure 38a

Comment: From same cemetery as [2] as well as Naxos Museum Sculptor [1] and Berlin Sculptor [6].

*[2]

Naxos, AM 166 (confiscated from looters in 1948). L 50 cm. Phiontas, Naxos. *Sculptors*, pls. 38–39.

Figure 20

Comment: From the same cemetery as [1] as well as Naxos Museum Sculptor [1] and Berlin Sculptor [6].

*[3]

Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum AG70.2 (gift of Ben Heller, acquired in 1955). PL 41.8 cm (legs missing from knees; grooves have been correctly added in the restoration of break at base of neck, both front and rear). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pls. 38–39 (earlier, incorrect restoration of

- neck/torso juncture on rear); NAC, no. 51, pl. IV.
Plates 77–78: *b*; figure 38_e
New York, MMA 1968.148 (gift of C. Bastis). L 63.4 cm. “Naxos.” ACC, no. 166; PGP 1981, 25, 27–28, figs. 60–61; *Sculptors*, pls. 38–39; Bastis, 316–317: B; Hendrix, figs. 13–16 (see esp. figs. 15 and 16 for intriguing evidence of painted details).
Plates 77–78: *c*
- *[5]
PColl (ex PColl, acquired in the 1960s or earlier). PL 46.4 cm (head/neck with neck/shoulder juncture missing as well as right foot). Keros hoard. Sotheby’s (New York), 20 June 1990, lot 20 (color); Sotheby’s (London), 8 July 1993, lot 259 (color).
Figure 38_d
- *[6]
PColl. PL 17.2 cm (head/neck missing as well as most of legs). Possibly from the Keros hoard. Christie’s (New York), 10 June 1994, lot 105 (PL 7.5 cm).
Comment: The leg-cleft and pubic area are not defined, which suggests that the figure was perhaps not finished.
Figure 38_b
- *[7]
Michael E. Tully Coll. (ex J. Lawrence Coll., acquired late in the 1960s or early 1970s). PL 23 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from lower thighs; shoulders damaged). Keros hoard. Christie’s (New York), 30 May 1977, lot 106 (color).
Plates 77–78: *a*; figure 38_c

Note: See Goulandris Sculptor Checklist: [44, 53].

THE SCHUSTER SCULPTOR

[Page ii; pls. 79–85; fig. 39]

- *[1] Athens, NAM 3917. PL 19.2 cm (head and perhaps part of neck missing; missing portion of left foot incorrectly restored in plaster, being joined to the right foot by a membrane that extends too far toward the toes). Find-place unknown. Zervos, pl. 252.
Plates 80–81: *a*, 85*d*
- *[2] PColl (ex Schuster Coll., acquired before 1965). L 29.2 cm. Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 40–41; *NAC*, no. 58, pl. VII.
Plates 82–83: *b*, 85*b*, *e*
- *[3] PColl. PL 13.9 cm (head with part of neck missing as well as part of right shoulder and arm and the legs from upper thighs). Find-place unknown. PGP 1978, 7, fig. 9.
Comment: From same dealer as Naxos Museum Sculptor [6] and Goulandris Sculptor [13], [15], [23], and [32], and ultimately perhaps from the same source.
plate 79*b*
- *[4] PColl (ex Kahane Coll., acquired c. 1961). PL 28.5 cm (lower legs and feet missing). Keros hoard.
Sculptors, pls. 40–41.
Plates 82–83: *a*, 85*a*
- *[5] London, BM 1854.12–18.23 (ex Stokes Coll., acquired before 1850). PL 27.2 cm (legs now missing from above knees; repair of break obscures neck groove). PGP 1978, 5: *c*; *Sculptors*, pls. 40–41; Fitton, fig. 59 (3/4 view in color; old restoration at neck removed).
Comment: Originally c. 38 cm.
Detailed 1:1 pencil and watercolor

drawings made in 1850 show figure in unrestored state, with lower legs (damaged) and feet preserved to their full length (see note 200). See [plate 84a](#).

[plate 84](#)

[6]

Naxos, AM KE.1967/4186. PL 18 cm (head/neck missing as well as legs from c. knees; both shoulders chipped). Keros (excavations of P. Zapheirou). *Deltion/Chronika* 23 (1968): pl. 334b (photo taken at poor angle).

Comment: Note that the rendering of the left elbow is very similar to that of [15], except that below the protruding portion of the forearm there is a section in a lower plane (which normally would have been removed) not meant to be read as part of the front of the arm. See also plate 80a; for an analogous example, by a different sculptor, see plate 41.

*[7]

Norwich, SCVA, UEA 668 (acquired in 1977). PL 33 cm (head/neck missing as well as ends of feet). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pls. 40–41; SCVA Cat., no. 304.

Plates 80–81: c

[8]

Malibu, JPM 1983.AA.318.2. PL 7.3 cm (most of forearms to mid-thighs). Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 13.

[9]

PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 12.5 cm (head/neck and shoulders missing as well as legs from knees). Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 14; Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1990, lot 129 (color front view, black/white profile and rear views).

[10]

PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 7 cm

- (abdomen and most of thighs).
Keros hoard. PGP 1984a, fig. 14.
- [11] Athens, NPGM 110 (acquired
before 1965). PL 9.5 cm (head
with part of neck). Find-place
unknown. *Spirit*, pl. 123 (color).
- [12] Jerusalem, Israel Museum
1974.61.217 (gift of I. M. Cohen,
acquired c. 1960). PL 12 cm (head
with part of neck). Find-place
unknown. *Sculptors*, pl. 40.
- [13] Geneva, George Ortiz Coll. PL 12.8
cm (head with most of neck
missing as well as most of left
upper arm and the legs from c.
mid-thighs). Find-place unknown.
Comment: Vivid remains of red-
painted vertical strokes on neck,
chest, and upper arms. Page ii;
plate 79*a*; figure 39
- *[14] PColl. PL 24.8 cm (head with all
but trace of neck missing as well as
right foot). Keros hoard. Christie's
(New York), 10 June 1994, lot
106.
- *[15] Plates 80–81: *b*, 85*f*
Malibu, NPGM 1990.AA.114. PL
40.6 cm (feet missing). Find-place
unknown. *ECS2*, frontispiece (left
profile).
- [16] Plates 82–83: *c*, 85*c*
Amorgos (Chora) AM 204. PL 5 cm
(part of head/neck). Amorgos.
Marangou 1984, fig. 21. *Comment*:
See *Sculptors*, Schuster Master
Checklist: note.

THE ASHMOLEAN SCULPTOR

[*Pls. 86–87*]

- [1] Budapest, Musée des Beaux-Arts
4709 (acquired in 1908; ex P.
Arndt Coll.). L 23.7 cm (end of left

- foot missing). Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 215; PGP 1984b, figs. 17–19: a; *Sculptors*, pls. 42–43; *ECS*, figs. 70–71.
- *[2] Houston, Menil Collection CA 6326. L 36.7 cm. “Naxos.” ACC, no. 216; PGP 1984b, figs. 17–19: b; *Sculptors*, pls. 42–43; *ECS2*, figs. 72–73 (N.B., *ECS*, fig. 72: photo printed in reverse).
[plate 86](#)–87: *d*
- *[3] Athens, NPGM 206 (acquired before 1965). L 39.1 cm. “Keros”? PGP 1984b, figs. 17–19: c; *Sculptors*, pls. 42–43; pls. 54, 66, 96: 6.11.14, 100: 2, 102: 3 (color); *Dawn*, pls. 93–94 (color). Plates 86–87: *c*
- *[4] Oxford, Ash AE.176 (acquired in 1898). L 75.9 cm (repair of break obscures ankle grooves). “Amorgos.” Zervos, pl. 162 (L 75 cm); ACC, no. 182; PGP 1984b, figs. 17–19:d; *ECS*, figs. 74–75; *Sculptors*, pls. 42–43. Plates 86–87: *a*
- [5] PColl. PL 9.7 cm (calves with left foot). Keros hoard. *Sculptors*, pl. 43.
- [6] Ermoupolis (Syros), AM 377. L 32 cm. Naxos. P. Zapheirpoulou, *Syros Museum* (Archaeological Receipts Fund; Athens, 1988), ill. on p. 6 (color).
- *[7] Harmon Coll. (ex PColl). PL 43.2 cm (lower calves and feet missing). Keros hoard. Plates 86–87: *b*

Note: A neck/shoulder fragment in Amorgos (AM 205; Marangou 1984, fig. 22) is possibly from a relatively small work of the Ashmolean Sculptor. See *Sculptors*, Schuster and Ashmolean Sculptors checklists: notes.

THE BERLIN SCULPTOR

[Pls. 88–90]

- *[1] Berlin SMPK, Antikensammlung
1978.4. L 43 cm (missing end of
left foot restored; toes of right foot
bruised). Find-place unknown.
Gehrig; *Sculptors*, pls. 44–45.
Comment: Red-painted vertical
strokes on chest; copper stains on
breasts and left shoulder. Plates
88–89: c, 90b
- *[2] Athens, NAM 9096 (acquired early
in the twentieth century). L 68.6
cm (left upper arm [restored] and
end of right foot missing; shoulders
damaged). Find-place unknown.
Zervos, pls. 296 (without arm
restoration), 298 (detail of head);
Sculptors, pl. 44.
Plates 88–89: d, 90c
- *[3] PColl. PL 4.1 cm (lower part of
head and upper neck). Keros
hoard. *Sculptors*, pl. 45.
- *[4] PColl (acquired c. 1986 or earlier).
P?L 41.7 cm (end of right foot
perhaps 2–3 mm longer originally).
Find-place unknown.
Comment: Red-painted vertical
strokes on chest; copper stains near
right breast.
Plates 88–89: b, 90a
- *[5] Harmon Coll. (ex Reis Coll.,
acquired in the 1950s, perhaps as
early as 1950). L 22.7 cm.
Findplace unknown. NAC, no. 59.
Plates 88–89: a
- [6] Naxos, AM 167. L 30 cm. Phiontas,
Naxos (confiscated from looters in
1948). *Naxos*, no. 158; *Dawn*, pl.
90 (color).
Comment: From same cemetery as
Naxos Museum Sculptor [1] and
Bastis Sculptor [1, 2].

THE LOUVRE SCULPTOR (*formerly the Stafford Master*)

[Pls. 91–94, 96a]

- New**[1] Harmon Coll. (ex Bunschaft Coll., acquired in 1959). L 19.8 cm.
Find-place unknown.
Plates 91, 93–94: *b*, 92*a*
- New**[2] PColl. PL 10 cm (torso with neck and chin). Find-place unknown.
Sotheby's (New York), 20 June 1990, lot 23.
Plates 91, 93–94: *e*
- *[3] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3093 (acquired in 1913). L 27 cm.
"Naxos." Zervos, pl. 158; ACC, no. 225 (L 27.5 cm); *Sculptors*, pls. 46–47 (L 27.5 cm); Hamiaux, no. 9 (L 27 cm). N.B., all these publications show restoration that obscures the forearm area, as in plate 96*a*.
Plates 91, 93–94: *c*, 92*b*, 96*a*
- New* [4] Naxos, AM KE.1963.3117. PL? (torso with damaged shoulders).
Keros (excavations of C. Doumas).
Tampa, Tampa Museum of Art LI 96.2 (Sahlman Coll.). L 26.1 cm.
Keros hoard. PGP 1983, fig. 2; *Sculptors*, pls. 46–47.
Plates 91, 93–94: *a*
- *[5] PColl (ex PColl, acquired in 1968).
PL 10.3 cm (torso with most of neck). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 224; *Sculptors*, pls. 46–47.
Plates 91, 93–94: *d*
- *[6] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 4.9 cm (head with trace of neck). Keros hoard.
ACC, no. 223.
- [7] Naxos, AM KE 1967/4136. PL 5.2 cm (head with trace of neck).
Keros (excavations of P. Zapheiroulou).
- [8]

Note: For another figure from the hand of the Louvre Sculptor, if genuine, see ACC, no. 237 (L 19.2 cm). See discussion in note 230.

THE DRESDEN SCULPTOR [Fig. 27c]

- [1] Athens, NAM 3916. L. 11.3 cm. "Ios." Zervos, pl. 115 [sic] (error for 111). *Sculptors*, pls. 48–50.
- [2] Keos, AM K9.55. PL 12.1 (head/neck missing). Ayia Irini, Keos (excavations of J. L. Caskey). Caskey, no. 7; *Sculptors*, pl. 48.
- [3] Keos, AM K3.1. PL 9.4 cm (head/neck missing as well as lower legs and feet). Ayia Irini, Keos (excavations of J. L. Caskey). Caskey, no. 8; *Sculptors*, pl. 48.
- [4] PColl. L 19 cm. Find-place unknown. *Sculptors*, pls. 48–50.
- *[5] Dresden, SK, Skulpturensammlung ZV 2595 (acquired before 1925). H/L 22.8 cm. "Amorgos." *Sculptors*, pls. 48–50.
Figure 27c
- [6] PColl (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). PL 16.1 cm (head/neck missing). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 230; *Sculptors*, pls. 48, 50; Sotheby's (London), 9 July 1990, lot 130 (color).
- [7] Geneva, BMG 202–62 (ex P. Geneux Coll.). L 26.7 cm. Find-place unknown. ACC, no. 229; *Sculptors*, 48–50; Barbier-Mueller Cat., no. 33; pl. 15 (color).
- [8] PColl. PL 11 cm (upper part missing to bottom of forearms; ends of feet damaged). Keros hoard. ACC, no. 231; *Sculptors*, pls. 48–50; Christie's (New York), 10 June 1994, lot 104 (color).

Note: A pair of lower legs with right foot from Ayia Irini, Keos, might be the work of the Dresden Sculptor (K9.56; Caskey, no. 9); and a head/neck from the Keros hoard as well as a pair of legs and perhaps a head in Apeiranthos (AM 927, 939), said to be from Panormos but possibly from Keros (see Goulandris Sculptor Checklist: note), should also be attributed to his hand.

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Notes on the Plates

Unless specified, the color of the marble is basically white or quite uniformly very light in color. Losses and restoration are noted if not obvious. Mended fractures are noted, where known to me, because they are indicative of vulnerability, even though in most cases it is not clear if they are ancient, old, or recent. Figures that I am reasonably certain have not sustained any fractures and have only the most minor losses are designated *intact*. Evidence of original painting and unmistakable paint ghosts are noted (where recorded by me) only if not discussed, mentioned, or cited elsewhere (e.g., in the Checklists). Unless specified, no find-place has been recorded. My information regarding the acquisition history is incomplete for many works.

If a figure has a bracketed number, the reader is urged to consult the relevant checklist for additional information. For works not included in the checklists, previous publication information is given in cases where a different view, a color view, or additional information is provided elsewhere. Many of these figures are illustrated here for the first time.

Plate 1. Late Neolithic standing and sitting figures.

- a. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1946.119 (gift of R. M. Dawkins). Intact except for end of right foot and left upper arm, which are chipped. “Naxos.”
- b. Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (ex C. Gillet Coll., acquired in the 1960s or earlier). “Attica.” Part of a group. *Glories*, no. 8 (color).

Plate 2. A Late Neolithic standing figure.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). White marble with dark gray areas. Much of left arm and a small section of right arm are restored; these losses and a break across the waist are all recent. “Cyclades.” (also: fig. 2a)

Plate 3. A Late Neolithic standing figure.

Private collection (ex K. Essayan Coll.). Intact. Sotheby’s (London), 8 July 1991, lot 200 (color). (also: fig 2b)

Plate 4. A figure of Plastiras type.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Right calf and foot restored. A superficially incised hairline with widow’s peak and the similarly

indicated right eye are possibly guidelines for painted details. Note the superficially incised wrist lines.

Plate 5. Two figures of Plastiras type attributable to one sculptor and a fragmentary precanonical figure.

- a. Harmon Collection (ex A. von Arx Coll.). Intact.
- b. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4987 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). Badly weathered; left elbow area missing. Breaks at neck and legs.
- c. Private collection.

Plate 6. A figure of Plastiras type.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Light gray marble. Breaks at top and base of neck, below waist, and at left knee. (also: pl. 7a)

Plate 7. Violin figures (*b–g*) and the torso of the figure in plate 6 (*a*)

- a. See plate 6.
- b. E. B. Collection (acquired in the 1960s?).
- c. Harmon Collection (ex Woodner Family Coll., acquired in 1983). Ancient repair holes on either side of break near base of head/neck prong.
- d. Harmon Collection (ex Foundation Thétis). Break near base of neck. Sotheby's (London), 23 May 1991, lot 20 (color).
- e. London, British Museum 1889.5–21.2 (acquired from the Rev. G. J. Chester). Intact. "Amorgos."
- f. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg H5052 (acquired before WW II). Most of head/neck prong missing.
- g. Private collection. Intact except for slight loss at bottom. Metropolitan Museum Sculptor Checklist: ?[6]. (also: fig. 32b)

Plate 8. Hybrid figures.

- a. Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Break near base of neck.
- b. Private collection. Intact.

Plate 9. A hybrid figure.

Private collection. Intact. "Naxos."

Plate 10. Figures of Louros type.

- a. Harmon Collection (ex E. de Kolb Coll., acquired in the 1960s or earlier). Intact. Vivid traces of red paint on front of neck and chest and on front of right foot.
- b. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4994 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). Intact except for chipped left “arm.”
- c. Harmon Collection (ex PColls, first acquired c. 1964 or before). Intact.

Plate 11. A precanonical figure.

E. B. Collection (acquired in the 1960s?). Adhesive used to mend break at neck partly obscures details on surface of neck and upper back. Ancient (internal) repair holes in both legs. Traces of red paint on both sides of neck and on right ear and cheek.

Plate 12. Precanonical figures.

- a. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (on loan from a PColl, acquired c. 1985). Section of left side of torso with part of left arm restored. The damage and break at waist are recent. Ancient (internal) repair holes in left leg, on either side of break in knee; right leg also broken at knee. Vivid traces of red paint on left side of head, in the head/neck juncture, and on the neck; slight traces also on cheeks, below nose, on arms and right knee.
- b. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4995 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997).
- c. Private collection. Intact. Said to have been found with *d. ACC*, no. 111.
- d. Private collection. Intact. Said to have been found with *c. ACC*, no. 110.

Plate 13. A precanonical figure.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art L.1997.70 (lent by Columbia University, acquired before 1964). Break near base of neck. Left foot missing; the fracture is recent. Redpainted fingers and red on forearms, in toe grooves, and in legclef on rear.

Plate 14. A fragmentary precanonical figure.

Geneva, Musée d’art et d’histoire 19299 (acquired in 1951).

(The two vertical marks between the breasts are apparently not vestiges of ancient paint.)

Plate 15. Precanonical figures attributable to the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor.

- a. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4991 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). Badly weathered. Breaks near base of neck and at right knee. Although not clearly visible in the illustrations, the eyes, brows, and mouth are incised, the navel is superficially bored, and on the rear a low-slung V is connected to the lightly grooved spine.
- b. Geneva, Musée Barbier-Mueller 202–9. Ancient repair hole with grooved channels radiating from it in left leg. Breaks at base of neck and right knee. PGP 1981, figs. 35–36; Barbier-Mueller Cat., pl. 13 (color).
- c. Athens, Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum 1921 (acquired in the 1960s or before). Breaks at upper neck and knees; back of head damaged. Said to have been found with a trough-shaped palette in the same collection: Brouscari, 501, A no. 1. (See also *Stone Vessels*, 88–90.) *Dawn*, pl. 53 (color).

Plate 16. A fragmentary precanonical figure.

Private collection. Break at base of neck.

Plate 17. A precanonical figure.

Houston, Menil Collection 1973.01.DJ. Breaks at knees; back of head damaged. (also: fig. 12)

Plate 18. A precanonical figure.

Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1974.61.213 (gift of Isidore M. Cohen, acquired in the 1960s or earlier). Intact.

Plate 19. A precanonical two-figure composition.

Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection. Breaks at ankles of smaller figure and neck of larger figure. Traces of red paint along nose of larger figure and on the neck, around nose, and in toe grooves of smaller figure. *Glories*, no. 9.

Plate 20. A precanonical figure.

Harmon Collection (ex PColls, first acquired in 1947). Intact.

Face weathered. Said to come from same source as the harp player in plate 21.

Plate 21. A precanonical harp player with elaborate chair.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1947.100.1 (Rogers Fund). Breaks at left knee, near base of musician's neck, and in harp frame. PGP 1980, 14–15 with figs. 16–20.

Plate 22. Rear views of the works in plates 20 and 21.

- a. See plate 20.
- b. See plate 21.

Plate 23. A figure of the Kapsala variety.

San Antonio, San Antonio Museum of Art 1986.134.2 (gift of Gilbert M. Denman, Jr., acquired in the late 1960s or early 1970s). Break at right ankle.

Plate 24. Figures of the Kapsala variety.

- a. Harmon Collection. Right foot and lower calf restored. Break at right knee. Attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor; see Checklist [14]. (also: fig. 17a)
- b. Harmon Collection. Intact. Traces of a blue-painted right eye; red paint on the left cheek. Attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor; see Checklist [15].

Plate 25. A figure of the Kapsala variety.

Harmon Collection (ex E. Lustig-Cohen Coll., acquired in 1960). Front of feet reattached. Red paint across the forehead, in the form of dots on the lower face, and in the neckline. Note that the leg-cleft is perforated between the calves.

Plate 26. Complete and fragmentary two-figure compositions and a fragmentary harp player (the legs of the stool are restored).

- a. Harmon Collection (ex L. Mildenberg Coll., acquired in the 1960s). Recent breaks at neck and ankles of smaller figure. (The work was recovered following a theft; see ACC, fig. 23.)
- b. Private collection.
- c. Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 968 (acquired in the 1980s). The beginning of what appears to be a small hole near the origin of the lowest finger of the left hand: deliberate? (also: fig. 18, hypothetical reconstruction)
- d. Private collection.
- e. Private collection. W across buttocks c. 5.4 cm. All but the uppermost parts of the stool legs are missing; the remaining stumps are partly obscured in the restoration.

Plate 27. A fragmentary figure of the Kapsala or Early Spedos variety.

H. and F. Parak Collection. Two red-painted vertical strokes on the

chest.

Plate 28. A fragmentary figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Harmon Collection (ex Woodner Family Coll., acquired in 1962 or 1963). Buff and very light gray banded marble. "Keros."

Plate 29. A fragmentary figure of the Late Spedos variety.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 5012 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997).

Break across abdominal groove. Possibly from the Keros hoard.

Plate 30. A fragmentary figure of the Late Spedos variety.

Harmon Collection (ex J. Leff Coll., acquired in the 1960s or earlier). A modern hole in the neck break, presumably for the attachment of a head/neck that did not belong. Possibly from the Keros hoard. Sotheby's (New York), 13 June 1996, lot 44 (color).

Plate 31. Fragmentary figures of the Early (*a*, *b*) and Late (*c*) Spedos varieties.

- a. Norwich, University of East Anglia, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, UEA 349 (acquired in 1952). "Paros." N.B., the figure is shown larger than its actual size. (also: fig. 21; shown 1:1)
- b. Mr. and Mrs. William Rudolf Collection. Sotheby's (New York), 1 June 1995, lot 78 (color).
- c. Budapest, Musée des Beaux-Arts 4710 (acquired in 1908, ex P. Arndt Coll.). Break in right foot.

Plate 32. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Harmon Collection. End of right foot restored. Break at left knee. The feet were given their present odd shape following damage during manufacture or soon after. (also: fig. 22)

Plate 33. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara Museum of Art 1992.37.13 (gift of Wright S. Ludington, acquired in 1973).

Plate 34. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Break below right knee.

Plate 35. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

George and Carol Harell Collection (acquired between 1956 and 1966). Breaks at knees and at top of head. (also: fig 17*b*)

Plate 36. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Marianne E. Steiner Collection (ex Christos G. Bastis Collection; ex R. Colin Coll., acquired in the 1960s). Intact except for slight damage to feet. Christie's (New York), 2 June 1995, lot 40 (color). (also: fig. 23)

Plate 37. A figure of the Early Spedos variety.

Harmon Collection (ex Ashley Coll., acquired c. 1979 ex PColl).

Recent fracture at base of neck. Clear ghosts of once-painted hair mass and depending curls on rear. (also: fig. 17c)

Plate 38. A figure of the Late Spedos variety attributable to the Strangford Sculptor.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Most of right foot restored. Break at base of neck; the V-shaped incision on the rear was not added when the break was mended.

Plate 39. A figure of the Late Spedos variety attributable to the Strangford Sculptor.

London, British Museum 1863.12–13.1 (ex Strangford Coll.).

Break at knees. Fitton, fig. 51 (color).

Plate 40. Figures of the late Early (*a*) and Late (*b*, *c*) Spedos varieties.

- a. Basel, Antikenmuseum (on loan from C. Bernoulli Coll., acquired before 1960). Intact.
- b. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.253 (ex H. Seyrig Coll., acquired in the 1950s or 1960s). Point of left shoulder restored. Breaks near top of neck and at right ankle. Paint ghosts clearly visible for left eye and depending curls.
- c. Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire 6149 (acquired in 1912). Breaks at top of neck, waist, right knee, and above left knee. "Amorgos."

Plate 41. A fragmentary figure of the Dokathismata variety. Private collection (ex Erlenmeyer Coll., acquired c. 1955). A piece of the right upper arm and shoulder reattached. Keros hoard.

Plate 42. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety. Lund, Klassiska Institutionen och Antikmuseet 646 (ex S. Wide Coll., acquired before 1896).

Plate 43. A figure of the Dokathismata variety.

Harmon Collection (ex PColl). Points of both shoulders restored.

Ancient repair holes on either side of break at base of neck. NAC, no. 60 (before restoration).

Plate 44. A figure of the Dokathismata variety.

Harmon Collection (ex M. Schuster Coll., acquired before 1965).

Ends of feet damaged. Point of left shoulder restored. Sotheby's (London), 8 July 1991, lot 208 (color).

Plate 45. A figure of the Chalandriani variety.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 5006 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997).

Break near top of neck. Feet damaged. Note the curious change in the color of the marble—from white to light gray—near the top of the torso, clearly visible on the rear.

Plate 46. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety. Private collection. White and light gray layered marble—front surface white, rear gray. The end of the nose was cut away to form an upper lip, a detail that is perhaps unparalleled.

Red paint on lower face, right forearm, and pubic triangle, and, in the form of vertical strokes, on the chest and left breast.

Plate 47. Fragmentary figures of the Chalandriani (*a*) and Dokathismata (*b*) varieties, with a pattern of abdominal grooves.

- a. Buffalo, Buffalo Museum of Science C12925/37.157 (acquired in 1937).
- b. Athens, Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum 1402.
Restoration at break across waist may obscure an abdominal groove. The large, superficially incised pubic triangle has been nearly obliterated by weathering. Brouscari, fig. 17*c* (rear).

Plate 48. Fragmentary male figures of the Dokathismata (*a*) and Chalandriani (*b*, *c*) varieties.

- a. Private collection (ex Woodner Family Collection, acquired in 1987). Dark gray marble. Top of the penis sheath, depending from the belt, is just discernible. On the rear the belt continues in relief. (also: fig. 26, hypothetical reconstruction)
- b. Athens, Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum 1919.
Brouscari, fig. 18*b*, *c* (profile and rear).
- c. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE.456 (acquired between 1896

and 1908). Break at lower boundary of arms. Baldric merely scratched on rear. “Amorgos.” PGP 1979, fig. 4b (rear).

Plate 49. A hunter/warrior figure of the Chalandriani variety. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art L.1997.69 (lent by a New York private collector, acquired in 1952, ex W. Pallen Coll.). Break just below right arm; ends of feet damaged. Clear ghosts of once-painted eyes. (also: fig. 27a)

Plate 50. A musician(?) figure with male and female characteristics.

Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1974.61.210 (gift of Isidore M. Cohen, acquired c. 1960). Intact. (Parallel marks above belt [profile view] have been caused by the mount.)

Plate 51. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety, holding a boxlike object.

Private collection (acquired before 1976).

Plate 52. A fragmentary precanonical figure.

Private collection. Vivid red paint on both forearms and on the chest, with traces also on the rear.

Plate 53. Male and female figures attributable to the Doumas Sculptor.

- a. [10] Private collection. Breaks in upper neck and just above left knee. Back of head and front of left foot damaged. Note the iliac dimples (rear).
- b. [9] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4762. Breaks at top of neck and both knees. Paros, Glypha T. 23.
- c. [4] Geneva, Musée Barbier-Mueller BMG 202–13. Breaks in both thighs; the left has ancient repair holes on either side.
- d. [3] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 1112.
- e. [5] Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 1991. Surface weathered in places making abdominal grooves difficult to discern. Note the iliac dimples (rear).

Plate 54. A figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor.

[11] Harmon Collection. Breaks near base of neck, just above pubic area, and at knees.

Plate 55. A figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor.

[6] Private collection. Breaks at base of neck, knees, and above right ankle.

Plate 56. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor.

[9] David T. Owsley Collection.

Plate 57. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor.

[10] Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection. Break in neck. (also: pl. 65*d*)

Plates 58–59. Figures attributable to the Bent Sculptor.

- a. [1] Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I.1961/12.1. Break at base of neck.
- b. [3] London, British Museum 1884.12–13.11. Antiparos (Bent's SE cemetery).
- c. [4] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4997 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). Intact.
- d. [5] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 104. Intact except for slight damage to left foot.
- e. [6] Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, 1995.1134 (gift of Nelson Goodman). Breaks at left knee and in membrane connecting ankles.
- f. [7] Private collection.

Plates 60–61. Figures attributable to the Karo Sculptor.

- a. [1] Harmon Collection.
- b. [2] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung M.I.8427. Intact. "Seriphos?"
- c. [3] Harmon Collection.
- d. [4] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung Inv. 31573/2. Break at right knee.
- e. [5] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6140.20. Left lower calf and foot restored. Breaks at knees and right ankle.
- f. [6] Private collection. PL 37 cm; RL 38 cm. Right foot and end of left foot restored. Break at knees.

Plate 62. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor.

- a. [7] Private collection. Possibly from the Keros hoard.
- b. [8] Harmon Collection. Conceivably from the Keros hoard. (also: pl. 63*a*)

Plate 63. Figures attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor.

- a. [7] See pl. 62a.
- b. [8] See pl. 62b.
- c. [1] Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection. Buff and very light gray banded marble. Right foot restored. Breaks at base of neck and above left knee. (also: fig. 17d)
- d. d. [4] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 257. Break at base of neck. “Naxos.”

Plates 64–66. Figures attributable to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor.

- a. [1] Harmon Collection. Breaks at neck, knees, and membrane joining ankles. Keros hoard.
- b. [2] Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1975/49. Breaks at top and base of neck and at knees. “Naxos”?
- c. [3] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 724. Breaks at left thigh and knee old or ancient; breaks at neck, below right arm (with a saw mark on the right forearm), and at right knee recent. “Keros, in a cave.” 65d. Detail of pl. 57 (Kontoleon Sculptor [10]).

Plate 67. Figures attributable to the Steiner Sculptor.

- a. [8] Private collection. Break at base of neck?
- b. [4] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 654. Break at knees.
- c. [6] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1988.AA.80. Break at knees.

Plate 68. Figures attributable to the Rodgers Sculptor.

- a. [1] Private collection.
- b. [2] Harmon Collection. Breaks at knees, left calf, and in membrane connecting lower legs.
- c. [3] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 282. Breaks near base of neck and at knees, the latter obscuring grooves. Front of feet damaged, obscuring toes.

Plates 69–70. Figures attributable to the Naxos Museum Sculptor.

- a. [2] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6140.19. Break at base of neck. Naxos, Phyrroges T. 28.

- b. [16] Private collection. Break at base of neck.
- c. [6] Private collection. Intact?
- d. [12] Private collection. Intact.

Plate 71. Heads of figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [47] Private collection. Keros hoard.
- b. [49] Private collection. Keros hoard.
- c. [30] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 256. Break at top of neck. “Naxos.”
- d. [46] Detail of plate 75*b*.

Plate 72. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [67] Private collection.
- b. [2] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 251. Intact. “Naxos.” (also: fig. 37).
- c. [66] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 5010 (gift of D. Cordesse, 1997). Break at base of neck. Keros hoard.
- d. [68] Private collection. Break at abdominal groove.

Plate 73. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [42] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5390. “Naxos.”
- b. [63] Private collection. Keros hoard.
- c. [64] Private collection. Keros hoard.
- d. [24] Private collection. Keros hoard.

Plate 74. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [38] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1988.AA.81. Very likely from the same source as the Keros hoard.
- b. [11] Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum B.E.10660. Possibly from the same source as the Keros hoard.
- c. [9] Houston, Menil Collection CA 6018. Possibly from the Keros hoard.
- d. [28] Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jaharis, Jr. Collection. Keros hoard.

Plate 75. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [27] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of

Cycladic Art 281. Break at base of neck. "Naxos." (also: pl. 76c; detail)

- b. [46] Private collection. Breaks at base of neck and just below right forearm. Keros hoard. (also: pl. 71d; detail)

Plate 76. The lower legs and feet of figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

- a. [50] Norwich, University of East Anglia, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, UEA 410. Probably from the Keros hoard.
- b. [25] Detail. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 1976.25 (gift of Thomas T. Solley). L 60.2 cm.
- c. [27] Detail of plate 75a.

Plates 77–78. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Bastis Sculptor.

- a. [7] Michael E. Tully Collection. Keros hoard. (also: fig. 38c)
- b. [3] Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum AG70.2 (gift of Ben Heller). Break at base of neck. Keros hoard. (also: fig. 38e)
- c. [4] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 68.148 (gift of Christos G. Bastis). Intact. "Naxos."

Plate 79. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor.

- a. [13] Geneva, George Ortiz Collection. (also: p. ii; fig. 39)
- b. [3] Private collection.

Plates 80–81. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor.

- a. [1] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3917. Most of left foot (incorrectly) restored. (also: pl. 85d; detail)
- b. [14] Private collection. Breaks above knees and above ankles. (also: pl. 85f; detail)
- c. [7] Norwich, University of East Anglia, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, UEA 668. Breaks at top of pubic triangle and just above knees. Keros hoard.

Plates 82–83. Figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor.

- a. [4] Private collection. Break at base of neck. Keros hoard. (also: pl. 85a; detail)

- b. [2] Private collection. White marble with dark gray inclusions. Intact. (also: pl. 85*b*, *e*; detail)
- c. [15] Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1990.AA.114. Break at base of neck. (also: pl. 85*c*; detail)

Plate 84. A figure attributable to the Schuster Sculptor, as preserved in 1850 (*a*) and as currently preserved (*b*).

- a. London, British Museum 1955.8–20.3. Pencil and watercolor drawings of [5] by George Scharf, dated 1850.
- b. [5] London, British Museum. Break at base of neck, obscuring the neckline, which was not restored on either the front or the rear.

Plate 85. Details of works in plates 80–81 and 82–83.

- a. [4] See pls. 82–83: *a*. b, e. [2] See pls. 82–83: *b*.
- b. [15] See pls. 82–83: *c*.
- c. [1] See pls. 80–81: *a*.
- d. [14] See pls. 80–81: *b*.

Plates 86–87. Figures attributable to the Ashmolean Sculptor.

- a. [4] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Breaks at neck and ankles. “Amorgos.”
- b. [7] Harmon Collection. Breaks at neck and across upper torso. Keros hoard.
- c. [3] Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art 206. Intact except for left “corner” of head and slight damage to feet. “Keros”?
- d. [2] Houston, Menil Collection CA 6326. Breaks at mid-neck and knees. “Naxos.”

Plates 88–89. Figures attributable to the Berlin Sculptor.

- a. [5] Harmon collection. Break at neck.
- b. [4] Private collection. Perhaps 2–3 mm longer originally. Breaks in head (three) and at upper neck and ankles.
- c. [1] Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung 1978.4. Break below knees; end of left foot restored and toes of right foot bruised.
- d. [2] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 9096. Left upper arm restored. Breaks in head (two) and just below top of pubic

triangle.

Plate 90. Details of works in plate 88.

- a. [4] See pls. 88–89: *b*.
- b. [1] See pls. 88–89: *c*.
- c. [2] See pls. 88–89: *d*.

Plates 91, 93–94. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Louvre Sculptor.

- a. [5] Tampa, Tampa Museum of Art LI 96.2 (on loan from Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Sahlman Coll.). Intact except for damage to head and left foot. Keros hoard.
- b. *New* [1] Harmon Collection. Intact except for some damage along left side, just below elbow.
- c. [3] Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3093. Break at top arm line. “Naxos.” Note that the photographs show the piece following the removal of the old plaster restoration covering the break across the upper arm line. (also: pls. 92*b* [detail], 96*a*)
- d. [6] Private collection. Light gray marble. Keros hoard.
- e. *New* [2] Private collection.

Plate 92. Details of works in plate 91.

- a. *New* [1]. See pls. 91, 93–94: *b*.
- b. [3]. See pls. 91, 93–94: *c*. Note that, in contrast to pl. 91*c*, this photograph shows the figure with the break concealed, the upper arm line unambiguous.

Plate 95. A suspect work: the name-piece of the erstwhile Stafford Master, renamed the Louvre Sculptor after the figure in plates 91*c* and 96*a*.

Ex F. Stafford Coll., acquired before 1955; “ex A. Kann Coll.”
Break across legs. “Paros.”

Plate 96. The name-piece of the Louvre Sculptor, with old restoration (*a*) and in a reproduction (*b*).

- a. [3] See pls. 91, 93–94: *c*.
- b. Paris, Musée du Louvre, reproduction B 1234.

Plate 97. Two heads of colossal Early Spedos variety figures.

- a. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 1996.AA.27 (ex Fleischman Coll., ex Leuthold Coll., acquired in 1964). “Naxos” (but quite possibly from the Keros hoard). Abundant remains of red-painted patterns on face; dark (blue?) stains of oncepainted hair on forehead. See *Sculptors*, pl. XI (photo taken before surface deposits were removed to reveal full extent of painting preserved).
- b. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4842 (gift in memory of Ennemond Bizot, 1993; acquired in the 1960s?). Probably from the Keros hoard. Slight traces of red paint and dark bluish stains on forehead, and indications of a once-painted depending curl on left side of rear.

Plate 98. The head of a colossal Early Spedos variety figure.

Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2709 (gift of O. Rayet, 1873).

“Keros” (obtained from the mayor of Amorgos, who claimed it had been found in a grave). N.B., in the past the accession number and provenance of this head were sometimes confused with those of another head: Goulandris Sculptor Checklist [48]. Shown after recent conservation, with the old plaster extension of the neck removed.

Notes on the Text Figures

For publication information for those works illustrated here only in the drawings and not included in the checklists, the reader is advised to refer to the list of illustration sources on page 189.

Figure 1. Key points in the development of the Cycladic female figure.

Figure 2. Two Late Neolithic standing figures and a head found on Saliagos.

- a. See pl. 2.
- b. See pl. 3.
- c. Paroikia (Paros), AM.

Figure 3. A male figure of Plastiras type.

Athens, NAM 3919. See Athens Museum Sculptor Checklist: [2].

Figure 4. A figure of Plastiras type.

PColl. Possible false start for the right eye, just above it and slightly closer to the nose.

Figure 5. Figures of Plastiras type.

- a. Oxford, Ash 1946.118. "Naxos." Ancient repair hole above break at left knee.
- b. Pasadena, Norton Simon Coll. N.1975.18.S.A.

Figure 6. A male figure of Plastiras type.

Athens, NAM 3911 (acquired before 1906). "Amorgos."

Figure 7. A figure of hybrid type.

Washington, D.C., National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (ex Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden 66.5187; acquired by J. Hirshhorn in 1962).

Figure 8. Five of the seven figures found together in Grave 26 at Louros on Naxos.

Athens, NAM.

- a. 6140.7.

- b. 6140.9. Ancient repair holes on either side of break at right knee.
- c. 6140.10.
- d. 6140.11.
- e. 6140.6.

Figure 9. A figure of Plastiras type.

New York, MMA 1945.11.18. See Metropolitan Museum Sculptor Checklist: [2].

Figure 10. A fragmentary precanonical(?) figure.

Athens, NPGM 828 (gift of Andreas Varvitsiotis). Skoura, Laconia.

Note that the legs were carved separately to the knees. (In the break between the legs one can see where the connecting membrane peters out.)

Figure 11. A fragmentary precanonical figure.

PColl.

Figure 12. A precanonical figure and a Dokathismata variety figure with symmetrically positioned elbows.

- a. See pl. 17.
- b. Athens, NAM 6174. "Syros."

Figure 13. A precanonical figure.

Malibu, JPGM 1972.AA.156/1977.AA.24.

Figure 14. A fragmentary precanonical figure.

Florence, Museo Archeologico 86426 (acquired in 1913). "Melos."

Figure 15. Rare folded-arm figures from lands east of the Cyclades.

- a. Anatolian Early Bronze Age figure of electrum and gold. Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations 13922. "Hasanoğlu." N.B., to highlight the arm area, the figure is shown without the sheet gold waistband and straps crisscrossing its chest, as well as the gold wire anklets, all added as separate attachments.
- b. Cypriote Chalcolithic figure of picrolite. G. Halphen Coll. (ex Gillet Coll., acquired before 1968). Unpublished.

Figure 16. Special figure types.

- a. Syrinx player standing on a base. Kapsala variety style. Karlsruhe, BL 1964/100.
- b. Three-figure group consisting of two males standing on a common base and holding aloft a sitting female. Early Spedos variety style. Karlsruhe, BL 1977/59.
- c. Cupbearer seated on a simple stool. Early Spedos variety style. Athens, NPGM 286 (acquired before 1965). “Keros”?
- d. Harp player seated on an elaborate chair. Early Spedos variety style. Athens, NAM 3908 (acquired in the early 1880s). “Keros.”
- e. Fragmentary two-figure group consisting of figures clasping each other around the back. Early Spedos variety style. Karlsruhe, BL 1982/6. Part of left-hand figure with the left forearm and hand of the right-hand figure on its back.

Figure 17. Folded-arm figures shown reclining.

- a. Kapsala variety. See pl. 24a; Kontoleon Sculptor Checklist: [14]
- b. Early Spedos variety (Style A). See pl. 35.
- c. Early Spedos variety (Style A). See pl. 37.
- d. Early Spedos variety (Style B). See pl. 63c; Copenhagen Sculptor Checklist: [1].

Figure 18. A hypothetical reconstruction of the work shown in [plate 26c](#).

Figure 19. A precanonical seated female figure.

Herakleion (Crete), AM 287 (acquired in the early 1930s). Teke, Crete.

Figure 20. A Late Spedos variety figure with asymmetrical arms.

Naxos, AM 166. See Bastis Sculptor Checklist: [2].

Figure 21. The unusually small figure in [plate 31a](#), shown 1:1.

Figure 22. A reconstruction of the figure in [plate 32](#), according to the hypothetical original plan.

Figure 23. A reconstruction of the figure in [plate 36](#), according to the hypothetical original plan.

Figure 24. Works attributable to the Cohen Sculptor.

- a. Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1974.61.208a (gift of Isidore M. Cohen, acquired c. 1960). “Paros” (but probably incorrect). Said to have been found with a trough-shaped palette. See *Sculptors*, pl. V.
- b. Jerusalem, Israel Museum 1974.61.211 (gift of Isidore M. Cohen, acquired c. 1960).
- c. PColl (ex Emil Coll., acquired in the 1950s or early 1960s).

Figure 25. A Chalandriani variety figure with unusual arms.

Berlin, SMPK, Antikensammlung M.I. 8426 (acquired in 1874). Blue-gray marble. “Seriphos?”

Figure 26. A hypothetical reconstruction of the work shown in [plate 48a](#).

Figure 27. Hunter/warrior figures.

- a. See pl. 49.
- b. Athens, NAM 5380 (acquired before 1906). “Syros.”
- c. Dresden, SK, Skulpturensammlung ZV 2595. See Dresden Sculptor Checklist: [5].
- d. Missing work (ex Charles Stokes Coll.; acquired in 1848 or earlier).
- e. Athens, NPGM 308 (acquired before 1965). “Naxos” (possibly Phiontas or Spedos).

Figure 28. A Chalandriani variety figure with opposed arms.

PColl (ex PColl, acquired before 1963). “Amorgos.”

Figure 29. Fragmentary figures of the Chalandriani variety with an unusual arrangement of the arms, *a* shown holding a boxlike object.

- a. See pl. 51.
- b. New York, MMA 1977.187.11 (bequest of Alice K. Bache).

Head reattached by means of lead set in channels along the sides of the neck, on either side of the break.

Figure 30. A figure attributed to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor (*a*) with two versions of how he may have intended to show the arms (*b*, *c*), based on the work in figure 9.

[1] Geneva, BMG 202–75.

Figure 31. A Plastiras figure and two violin figures attributable to the Missouri Sculptor.

Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri (acquired in 1964).

- a. 64.67.3.
- b. 64.67.1.
- c. 64.67.2.

Not indicated in the drawings of *b* and *c* is a superficial groove on each shoulder, roughly parallel to the neck V.

Figure 32. A hypothetical transformation of a work attributable to the Metropolitan Museum Sculptor (fig. 9) into a violin figure (*a*) and the violin figure in [plate 7g](#) (*b*).

Figure 33. A figure attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor.

[2] PColl.

Figure 34. A fragmentary two-figure composition possibly by the Copenhagen Sculptor.

London, BM 1884.12–13.7 (ex J. T. Bent Coll.; acquired in Athens).
“Amorgos.”

Figure 35. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to mature phases of the Naxos Museum Sculptor.

- a. [10] Naxos, AM 4676.
- b. [11] Athens, NPGM 598.
- c. [18] PColl.

Figure 36. The extent of preservation () of works attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor.

Figure 37. A figure attributable to an early phase of the Goulandris Sculptor.

[2] See pl. 72*b*.

Figure 38. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Bastis Sculptor: *a* to an early phase, *b–d* to a middle phase.

- a. [1] Naxos, AM, 168.

- b. [6] PColl.
- c. c. [7] See pl. 77*a*.
- d. [5] PColl. L 46.4 cm.
- e. [3] See pl. 77*b*.

Figure 39. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Schuster Sculptor, with painted details.

[13] See p. i, pl. 79*a*.

Not indicated on the drawing are traces of red paint in the top forearm groove and on the left forearm.

Figure 40. The basic four-part plan.

Berlin, SMPK, Antikensammlung M.I.8267 (acquired in 1892). L 25.4 cm. “Syros.” No. 23 in table IV.

Figure 41. The measuring apparatus.

Figure 42. Actual and proportional lengths.

Figure 43. An example of Renfrew’s “quintile modularity” based on measurements from photographs (*a*), corrected using direct measurements (*b*).

Athens, NPGM 304 (acquired before 1965). L 65.5 cm. No. 44 in table IV.

Figure 44. The four-part planning of a pregnant figure, showing the midpoint (M) as the highest point on the abdomen.

Athens, NPGM 309 (acquired before 1965). L 15.6 cm. “Naxos” (possibly Phiontas or Spedos); said to have been found with the hunter/warrior in fig. 27*e* and two other works. No. 4 in table IV.

Addendum

A NOTE ON KEROS AND THE KEROS HOARD

In “The Keros Hoard Revisited” (2008), I revealed, for the first time in print, the name of the person responsible for the dissemination of the objects in the Keros hoard—so called because of the sheer number of pieces associated with it. While it may have been Manolis Segredakis, the Cretan founder of the eponymous antiquities gallery in Paris, whose agents originally obtained the hoard material, possibly before World War II (see Copenhagen Sculptor [8]), it was Nicolas Koutoulakis (1910–96) who, following the death in 1949 of his uncle, took over the gallery and soon became the preeminent purveyor of Cycladic objects. He sold directly to collectors and museums, and was *the* chief source of material for his fellow antiquities dealers and galleries of modern art in both Europe and the United States. Among the pieces that he sold, in both the Paris gallery and from his house in Geneva, were fragments that belong to the Keros hoard, the bulk of which may not have reached Paris until the 1950s. Compare Papamichelakis and Renfrew, “Hearsay about the ‘Keros Hoard’” (2010).

Over the decades that I have studied the hoard and other works, I have become increasingly cognizant of the inter-dealer and dealer-collector connections. I have come to recognize that other dealers and also collectors—Dolly Goulandris was a prime example of the latter—must have had agents working on their behalf in the islands, among them Keros and Naxos. I do not consider their fragmentary pieces to be part of the Keros hoard, although they come from the same site. Goulandris Sculptor [11] and Schuster Sculptor [19] are examples. They were among five fragmentary figures on their way to Germany when they were apprehended. I have good reason to believe they were found on Keros. I know this because Goulandris [20/33], composed of two adjoining fragments, came through two different sources—the torso from Koutoulakis and the Keros hoard, the head from the same German dealer as the confiscated works noted above.

Of course, Koutoulakis, and his uncle before him, also sold Cycladic works found on other islands. See, for example, Bastis Sculptor [4]. Chief among them would have been Naxos, where there is good reason to believe the majority of the prestige objects of marble (and other stone) found on Keros were made. Naxos, as the largest of the Cyclades, was the also the most populous, fertile, and prosperous. The communities along and near its marble rich southeastern coast, such

as Spedos and Panormos, also enjoyed the easiest access of any islands of some size to the site of Kavos / Daskalio, on the southwestern coast of Keros.

Since the first publication of *Personal Styles* in 2001, I have learned that the Cycladic objects in the collections of Dominique de Menil (e.g., Goulandris Sculptor [9], Ashmolean Sculptor [2]), her son François de Menil (e.g., Goulandris Sculptor [51]), and her sister Anne Gruner Schlumberger (e.g., Goulandris Sculptor [78]) were all acquired from Koutoulakis. That, to me, is confirmation that the fragmentary figure of the Goulandris Sculptor in the Menil Collection and the head in her son's collection belong to the Keros hoard, while the complete figures by the Goulandris Sculptor [78] and Ashmolean Sculptor [2] most probably come from graves on Naxos rather than Keros.

As I have continued to gain greater knowledge of the role of various players in the collecting and dissemination of Cycladic figures, I have come to regard as valid a much stronger association of certain pieces than I had earlier suggested, either with the Keros hoard or, independently, with Keros or, for that matter, with Naxos. Just a few weeks before writing these words, I learned that the masterwork that is the name piece of the Bastis Sculptor [4] was first acquired by the late Christos Bastis from the Galerie Segredakis in 1947. According to the information given to Bastis, the piece was found on Naxos. Although I was taught early on to distrust dealers' provenances, in this case support for the correctness of Naxos as the source comes from the fact that only one year later looters were caught digging in the cemetery of Phiontas in southern Naxos. Their "loot" consisted of Bastis Sculptor [1] and [2], as well as Naxos Museum Sculptor [1] and Berlin Sculptor [6]. I consider this to be strong evidence that the name piece of the Bastis Sculptor was found in the same cemetery during an earlier foray, and that all three of the sculptors mentioned were Naxians!

THE CHECKLISTS

Just as most of the checklists published in the 2001 edition of *Personal Styles* were revised versions of those provided in *Sculptors of the Cyclades* (1987), it is necessary to update a number of them once again for this publication. The numbers of new additions are shown in boldface, as opposed to additions and corrections to previously listed works.

THE DOUMAS SCULPTOR

[Pl. 53]

- [3] *Comment:* Female figure with four abdominal grooves.
- [6] *Comment:* Female figure with three barely discernible abdominal grooves.
- [11] PColl. (ex M. Waltz Coll., Munich, before 1970?). H 26.4 cm. Find place unknown, but Naxos or Paros most likely. Gorny & Mosch (Munich), 14 December 2012, lot 2 (calves / feet reattached following auction).
- Comment:* Male figure without abdominal grooves, closest in style and size to [9].

THE KONTOLEON SCULPTOR

- [8] Delete (erroneous attribution); see instead THE ISRAEL MUSEUM SCULPTOR [9].

THE ISRAEL MUSEUM SCULPTOR

- [4] L 29 cm.
- [6] New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 2008.115.26 (gift of Joan and Gifford Phillips, acquired on the Athens market, 1962). Find place unknown. L 22.86 cm (legs partly restored). Getz Gentle 2012.
- [7] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Inv. 57 / 22bis (early acquisition, date uncertain). PL 25.7 cm (legs missing from knees). Find place unknown. Getz Gentle 2013.
- [8] Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Inv. H 4263 (acquired before 1945, when fire destroyed the calves and feet).

[9]

PL 29 cm. Naxos. Horst et al. 2011. Heidelberg, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Institut der Universität Inv. St.39 (acquired in 1900 by Robert Zahn, on the Athens market). Find place unknown. Horst et al. 2011.

THE BENT SCULPTOR

[9]

Ex Piet and Ida Sanders Coll., Holland, acquired in 1962. PL 15.9 cm (ends of feet damaged). Find-place unknown. Christie's (London), 2 May 2013, lot 82. *Comment:* A somewhat atypical work of the sculptor, with unusually pointed chin, shoulders, and knees, and with a horizontal mouth incision that is extremely rare, if not unprecedented, among Spedos Variety figures.

THE COPENHAGEN SCULPTOR

[4]

First published in 1968: Doumas.

THE STEINER SCULPTOR

[4]

Acquired after 1968.

[9]

PColl. PL 10.85 cm (head with part of neck). Keros hoard. Getz Gentle and Caubet 2011, no. 46. Note: In addition to [7] and [9], there are at least three unpublished Keros hoard heads attributable to the Steiner Sculptor. Naxos was the most likely find place of all six of the complete works of the sculptor listed.

THE RODGERS SCULPTOR

[3]

First published in 1968: Doumas.

THE NAXOS MUSEUM SCULPTOR

[11] Acquired between 1979 and 1983.

THE GOULANDRIS SCULPTOR

- [2], [27],[30]
[16] First published in 1968: Doumas.
Probably found on Keros and taken to Amorgos to be sent to Athens.
- [56] Ex Wolfgang Paalen Coll., acquired in 1936 or before, in Paris.
Published by Paalen in 1942. See A. Neufort, *Wolfgang Paalen: Im Inneren des Wals* (New York, 1999), 188.
- [77] PColl. (ex European Coll., acquired 1970s). L 53 cm (end of left foot missing). Findplace unknown.
GetzGentle 2006.
- [78] Tourtour, Fondation Les Treilles
Inv. 990.26 (bequest of founder Anne Gruner Schlumberger; gift from the founder's mother, acquired from N. Koutoulakis, Paris, before 1976). L 64 cm. Find place "Amorgos." GetzGentle and Caubet 2011, no. 43 (where I suggested that the figure could have been composed of Keros hoard fragments. On hindsight, it seems more likely to have been found in a grave on Naxos).
- [79] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Inv. 57.22 (gift of F. Lenormant, acquired on Paros in 1859). L 39 cm (left foot missing).
Comment: Apparently the first example of the sculptor's work to be unearthed in modern times.
Although acquired on Paros, the figure is likely to have been made on Naxos, where, conceivably, it was also found. Getz Gentle 2013.
- [80] London, David Sofer Coll. (ex M.

Waltz Coll., most likely acquired before 1970). PL 13 cm (torso with short section of the neck, preserved to just below the abdominal groove). Keros. Gorny & Mosch (Munich), 20 June 2012, lot 5.

- [81] *Comment:* An unusually fine example of the sculptor's work. Note the long, incised fingers, a detail only rarely added by him. London, David Sofer Coll. (ex PColl.). PL 9.54 cm (head / neck only, the nose partly restored). Keros hoard. Getz Gentle and Caubet 2011, no. 44.
- [82] PColl. (ex M. Waltz Coll., most likely acquired before 1970). PL 16 cm (missing the head/neck and the torso to the abdominal groove). Keros. Gorny & Mosch (Munich), 14 December 2011, lot 8.
- [83] Ex G. Keiller Coll., UK (acquired in 1981, originally with N. Koutoulakis). PL 16.5 cm (calves/feet with part of the right knee). Keros hoard. Christie's (London), 6 October 2011, lot 56.
- [84] Ex G. Keiller Coll., UK (acquired in 1981, originally with N. Koutoulakis). PL 33.6 cm (with a head that does not belong; the original head / neck and the lower legs and feet missing; the right shoulder restored). PL without the head / neck c. 23 cm. Keros hoard. Christie's (London), 6 October 2011, lot 55.
- [85] PColl. PL 12.8 cm (much restored head/neck with a trace of the left shoulder). Keros hoard. Christie's (New York), 12 June 2002, lot 3.
- [86] Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum Inv. 66/ 170. PL

13.5 cm (lower legs and feet).
Keros hoard. ACC, no. 313; K.
Horst et al. 2011.

Note: Recent excavations at Kavos
on Keros have uncovered a number
of fragments of works of the
sculptor. Publication is awaited. A
few are shown in Renfrew et al.
2012, p. 150, fig. 4. They are
difficult to recognize due to
damage and wear.

THE BASTIS SCULPTOR

- [4] Acquired from Galerie Segredakis,
Paris, in 1947.

THE SCHUSTER SCULPTOR

- [2] For excellent photos, see Christie's
(New York), 9 December 2010, lot
88; see also the special brochure
on the figure issued on the
occasion of the auction.

[11] First published in 1968: Doumas.

[13] Keros hoard.

[17] Vézelay, Musée Zervos (bequest of
C. Zervos), MZ 720. PL 8.8 cm
(head with part of neck). Keros
hoard, from Galerie Segredakis,
Paris. Getz Gentle and Caubet
2011, no. Z 10.

[18] Vézelay, Musée Zervos (bequest of
C. Zervos), MZ 719. PL 17 cm
(head, all but a trace of the neck,
left elbow, most of right foot
missing, the shoulders and left
upper arm damaged). Keros hoard,
from Galerie Segredakis, Paris.
Getz Gentle and Caubet 2011, no. Z
11.

[19] Thessaloniki, AM B.E. 10663
(acquired through confiscation). PL
15.5 cm (head with a short section

of the neck). Keros. *Deltion, Chronika* 24 (1969), pl. 300a.
Note: I am aware of at least 3 unpublished heads from the Keros hoard, one of which was attached to a partial torso attributed to the Goulandris Sculptor. Such “bad marriages” are not uncommon among Keros hoard fragments.

THE ASHMOLEAN SCULPTOR

- [8] PColl. (gift to the collectors’ son from N. Koutoulakis). PW 11.9 cm, EL 45–50 cm (damaged upper torso, including the left forearm and right elbow and part of the neck). Keros hoard. GetzGentle 2006, no. 35 (note error in ref.; read *Sculptors* for *SV*).

THE BERLIN SCULPTOR

- [7] PColl. (ex M. Waltz Coll., most likely acquired before 1970). L 30.5 cm (point of left shoulder and left foot missing). Find place unknown. Gorny & Mosch (Munich), 20 June 2012, lot 1. *Comment:* An early work of the sculptor. The head belongs, although the join appears odd, which may be due to weathering of the edges of the break surfaces.

THE LOUVRE SCULPTOR

- [9] Naxos, AM 3117. Max. dim. c. 8 cm (torso fragment missing the right shoulder and much of the right upper arm). Found at Kavos on Keros by C. Renfrew in 1963. Renfrew 2006, fig. 3 (middle).

[9]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Inv. Delepierre ma.1 (gift of M. Delepierre in 1966, acquired in Paris in 1937). PL 19 cm (feet missing). “Paros.” GetzGentle 2013.

Comment: The figure has six abdominal grooves.

[10]

Naxos, AM? Max. dim. c. 9 cm (torso fragment with four abdominal grooves, missing the right shoulder point and elbow, the entire left shoulder, breast, elbow and upper arm, and the legs from just below the pubic triangle). Kavos on Keros (among the 553 fragments recovered in excavations of the Special Deposit South). Renfrew et al. 2012, p. 150, fig. 4: just below the seventh head, top row (left).

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- 1: A simpler, revised version of *Sculptors*, fig. 3.
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- 19: See, e.g., S. Marinatos, "Funde und Forschungen auf Kreta," AA, 1933, pp. 298, 301; fig. 10; Renfrew 1969, pl. 9a; ACC, fig. 146; *Dawn*, pl. 89.
- 20: *Sculptors*, fig. 47b2 (slightly modified); N.B., the caption for this drawing in *Sculptors* should read [2] instead of [4].
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Note that the modifications to drawings from *Sculptors* and *NAC* consist, with few exceptions, of the addition of broken lines to indicate fractures.

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Mending. *See* Repairs, ancient

Metropolitan Museum Sculptor, 18–19, 63–64, 66

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Paint ghosts, 69, 75, 145 n. 185, 147 n. 212

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Planning of figures. *See* Figures, proportional planning of

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Strangford Sculptor, 49

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Woodwind players. *See* Male figures

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Plates



a1



a2

8.3 cm
(1:1)



a3



b1

13.3 cm



b2

Plate 1. Late Neolithic standing and sitting figures

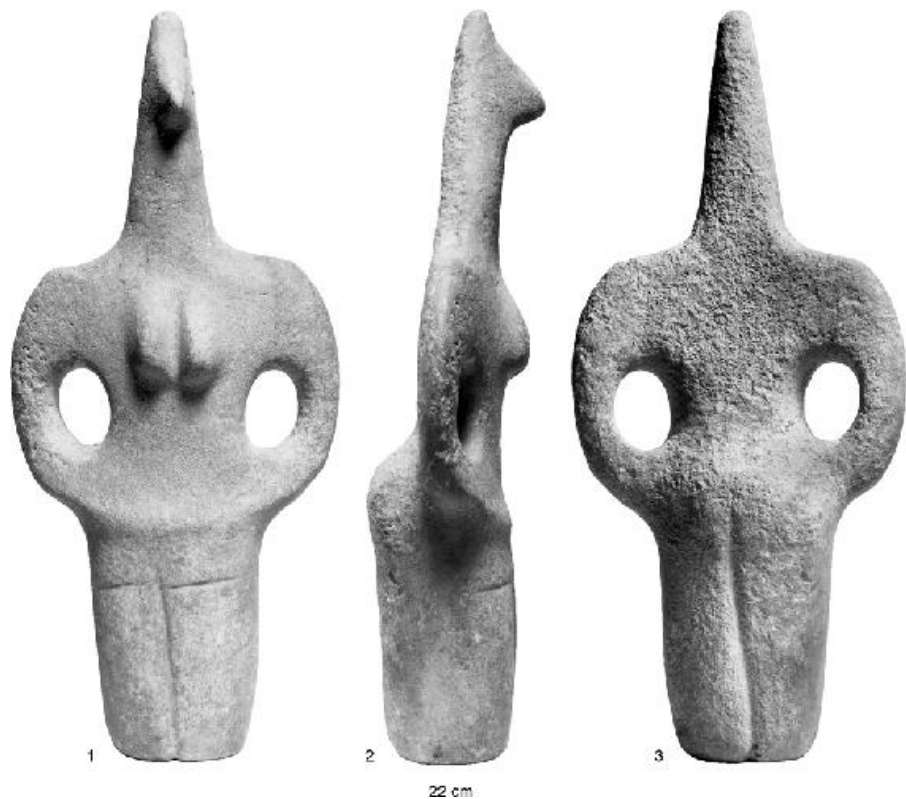


Plate 2. A Late Neolithic standing figure



1



2

14 cm



3

Plate 3. A Late Neolithic standing figure



2

21.9 cm

3



Plate 4. A figure of Plastiras type

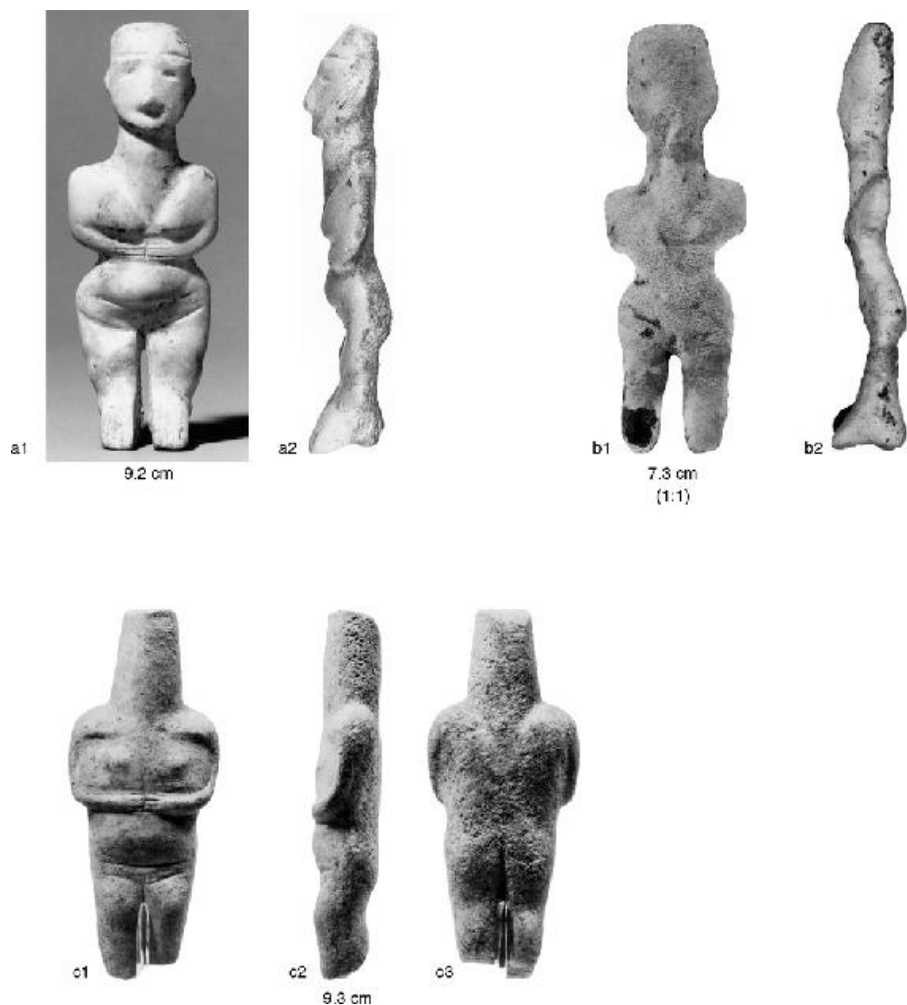


Plate 5. Two figures of Plastiras type attributable to one sculptor and a fragmentary precanonical figure



Plate 6. A figure of Plastiras type



2



3

a



(1:1)

Plate 7. Violin figures (*b–g*) and the torso of the figure in Plate 6 (*a*)



b 23.4 cm



c 11.5 cm



d 25.5 cm



e 11.1 cm



f 10.4 cm



g 23 cm



a1



a2

11.8 cm



a3



b1

10.2 cm



b2

Plate 8. Hybrid figures



1

30.7 cm



2

Plate 9. A hybrid figure



10.8 cm



15 cm



Plate 10. Figures of Louros type



c1

18.8 cm



c2



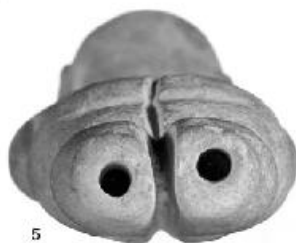
Plate 11. A precanonical figure



3



4



5



a1
23.7 cm



b1
21.4 cm



c1
13.7 cm



d1
15.8 cm

Plate 12. Precanonical figures



a2



b2



a3



b3



c2



d2

1



2



3



16.2 cm

Plate 13. A precanonical figure



10.5 cm
(1:1)

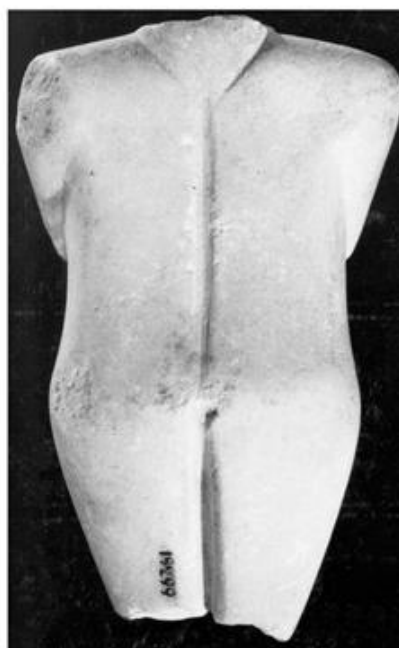


Plate 14. A fragmentary precanonical figure



a1

10.9 cm



b1

15.9 cm



c1

18 cm



c4



c5

Plate 15. Precanonical figures attributable to the Kanellopoulos Museum Sculptor



a2



b2



c2



a3



b3



c3

1



11.4 cm
(1:1)

2



Plate 16. A fragmentary precanonical figure



1

16.2 cm
(1:1)



2

Plate 17. A precanonical figure



1



2

19 cm



3

Plate 18. A precanonical figure



Plate 19. A precanonical two-figure composition



Plate 20. A precanonical figure



29.5 cm

Plate 21. A precanonical harp player with elaborate chair



a

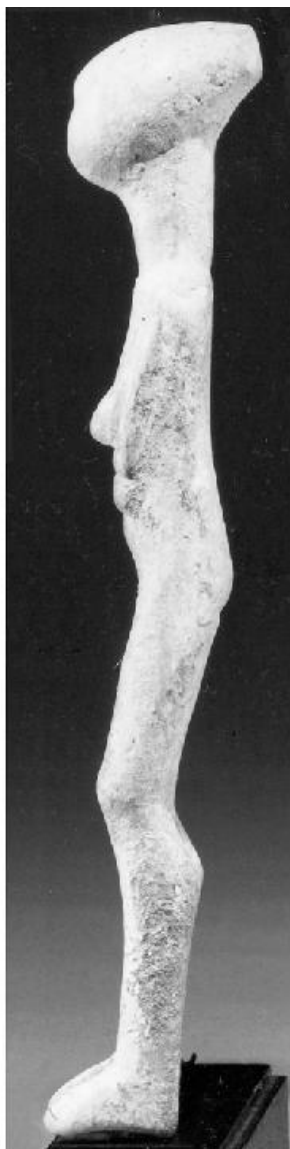


b

Plate 22. Rear views of the works in plates 20 and 21



2



3



Plate 23. A figure of the Kapsala variety



Plate 24. Figures of the Kapsala variety

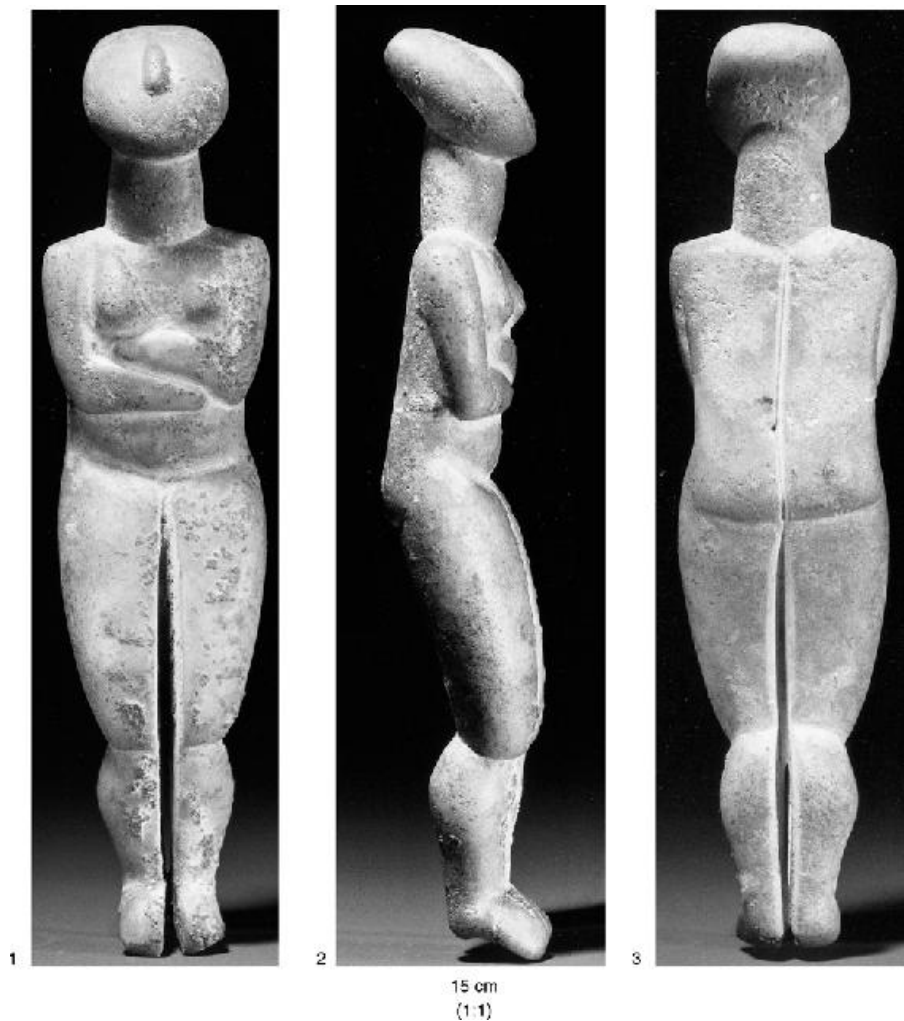


Plate 25. A figure of the Kapsala variety.



a1

19.5 cm



a2



b1



b2

6 cm

Plate 26. Complete and fragmentary two-figure compositions and a fragmentary harp player (the legs of the stool are restored)



c1

6.5 cm



c2



d1

5.5 cm



d2



e1



e2

10.9 cm (figure)



e3

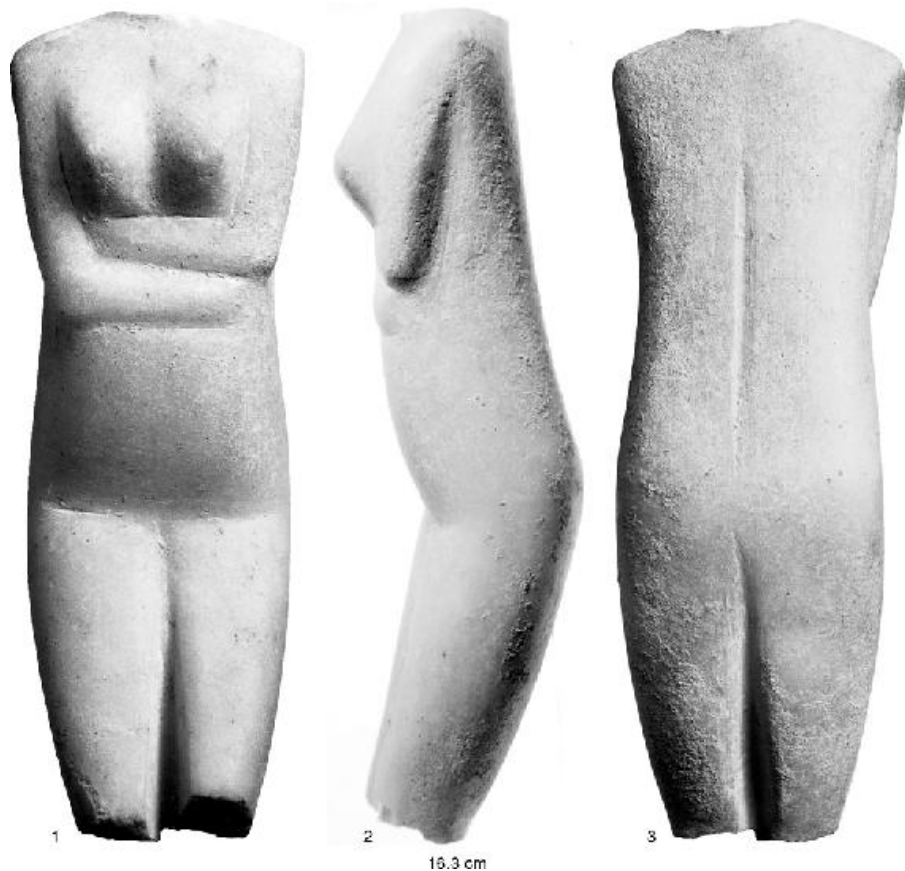


Plate 27. A fragmentary figure of the Kapsala or Early Spedos variety



1

39.3 cm



2

Plate 28. A fragmentary figure of the Early Spedos variety

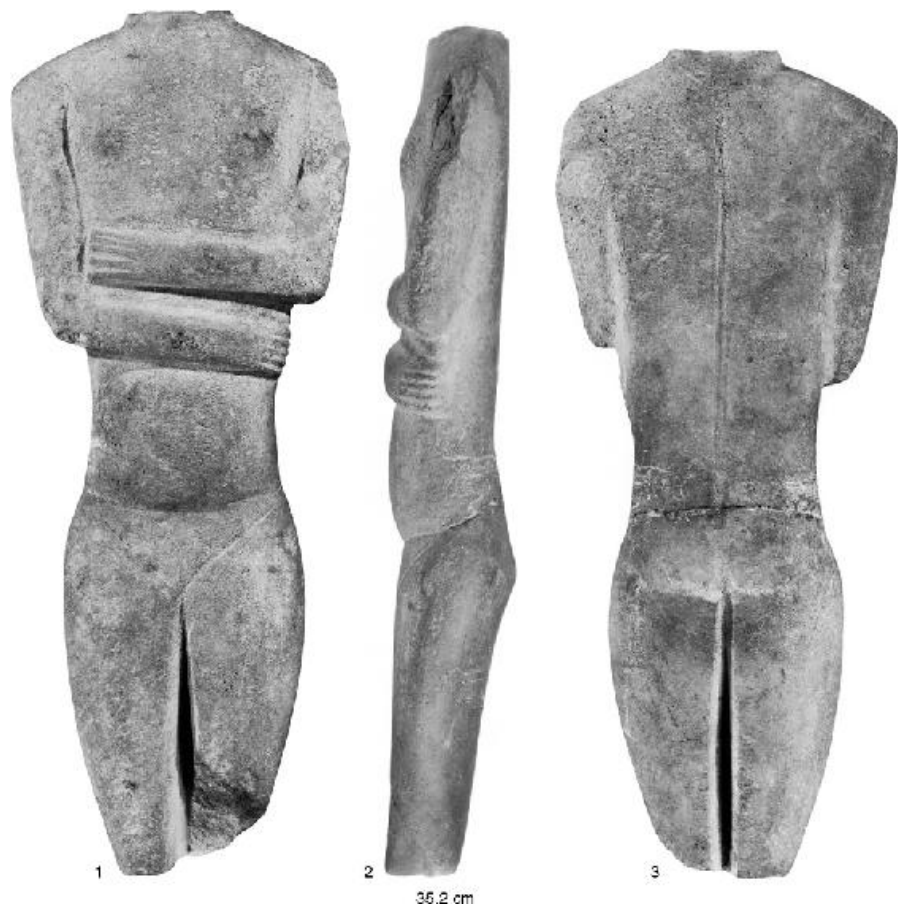


Plate 29. A fragmentary figure of the Late Spedos variety

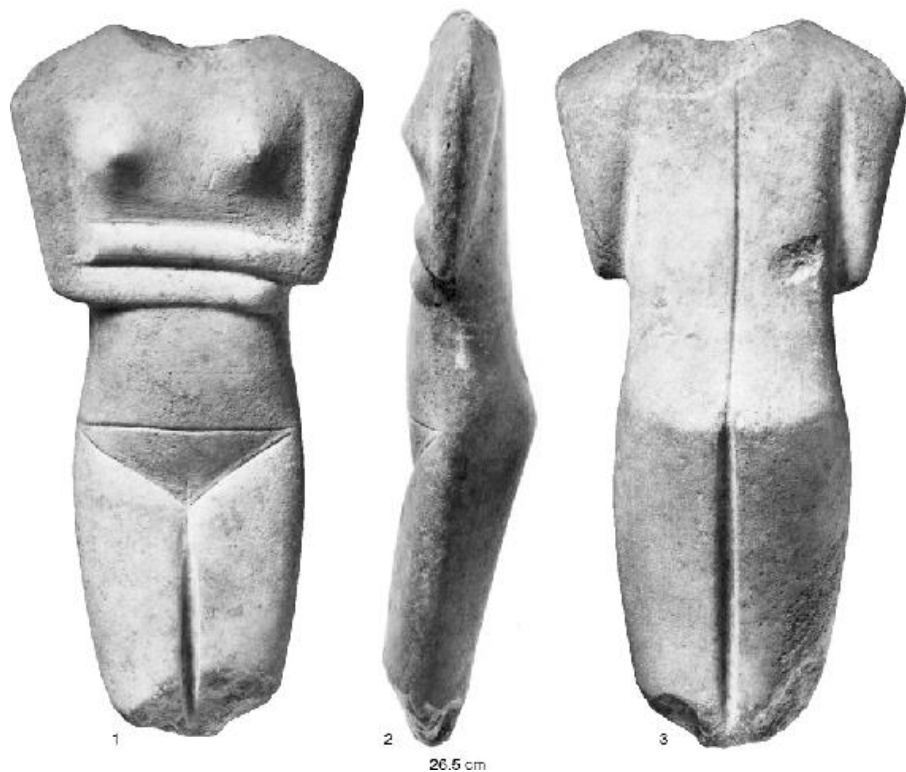


Plate 30. A fragmentary figure of the Late Spedos variety

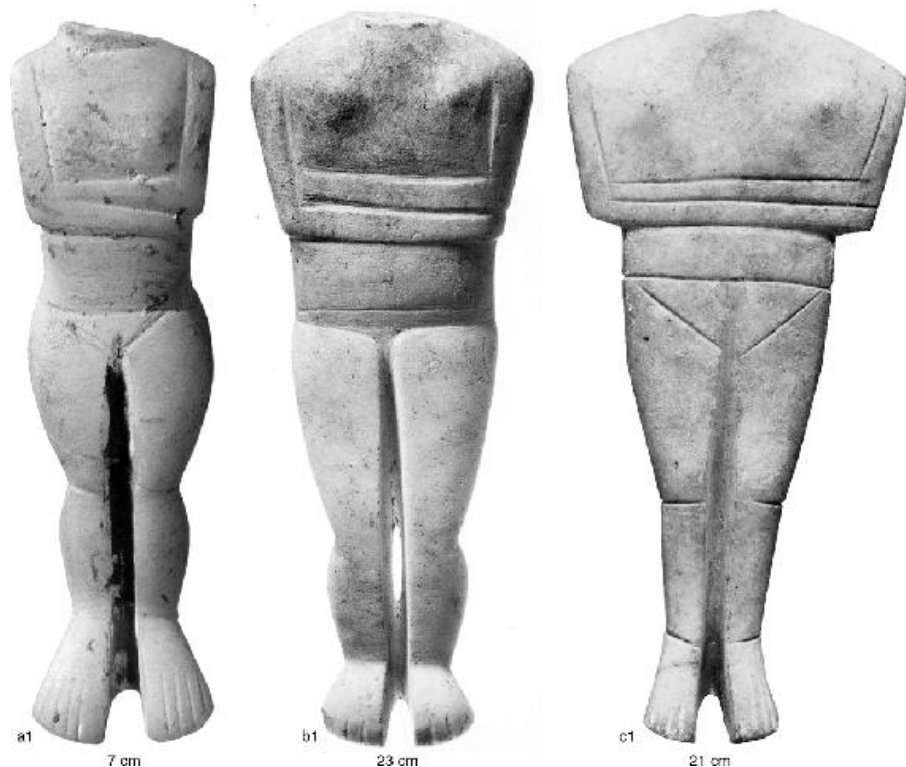


Plate 31. Fragmentary figures of the Early (*a*, *b*) and Late (*c*) Spedos varieties



a2



b2



c2



a3



b3



c3



1



2

42.3 cm



3

Plate 32. A figure of the Early Spedos variety

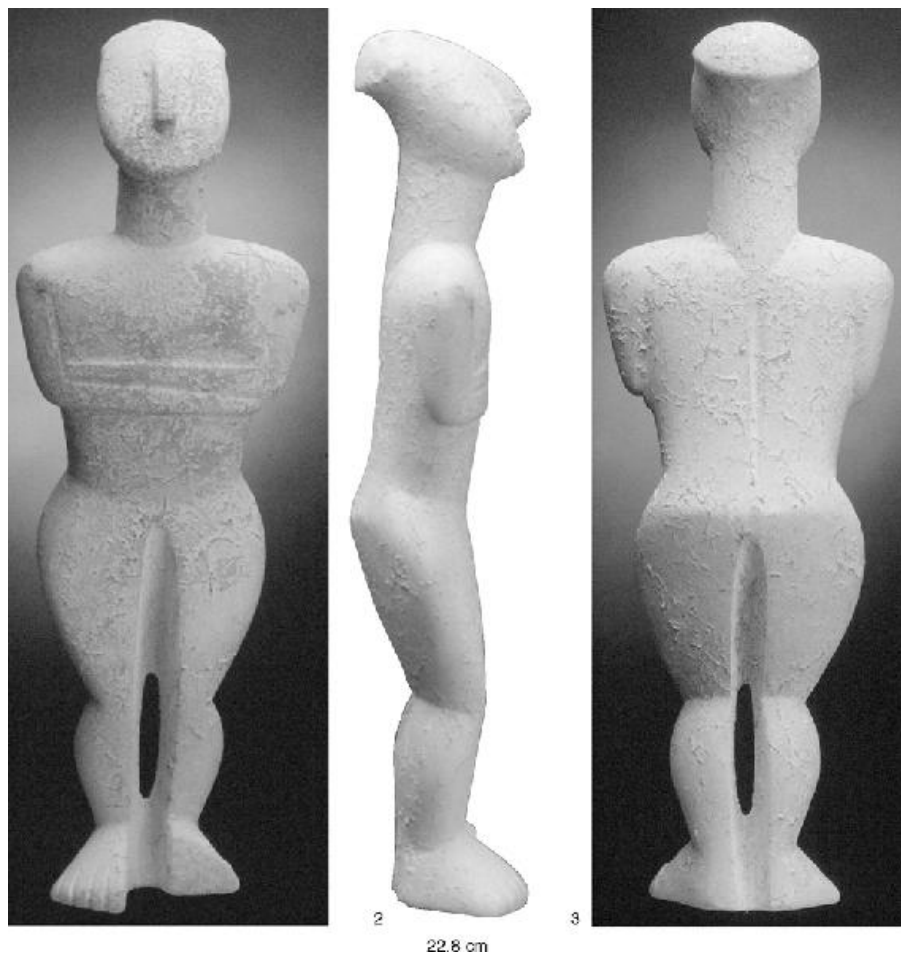


Plate 33. A figure of the Early Spedos variety

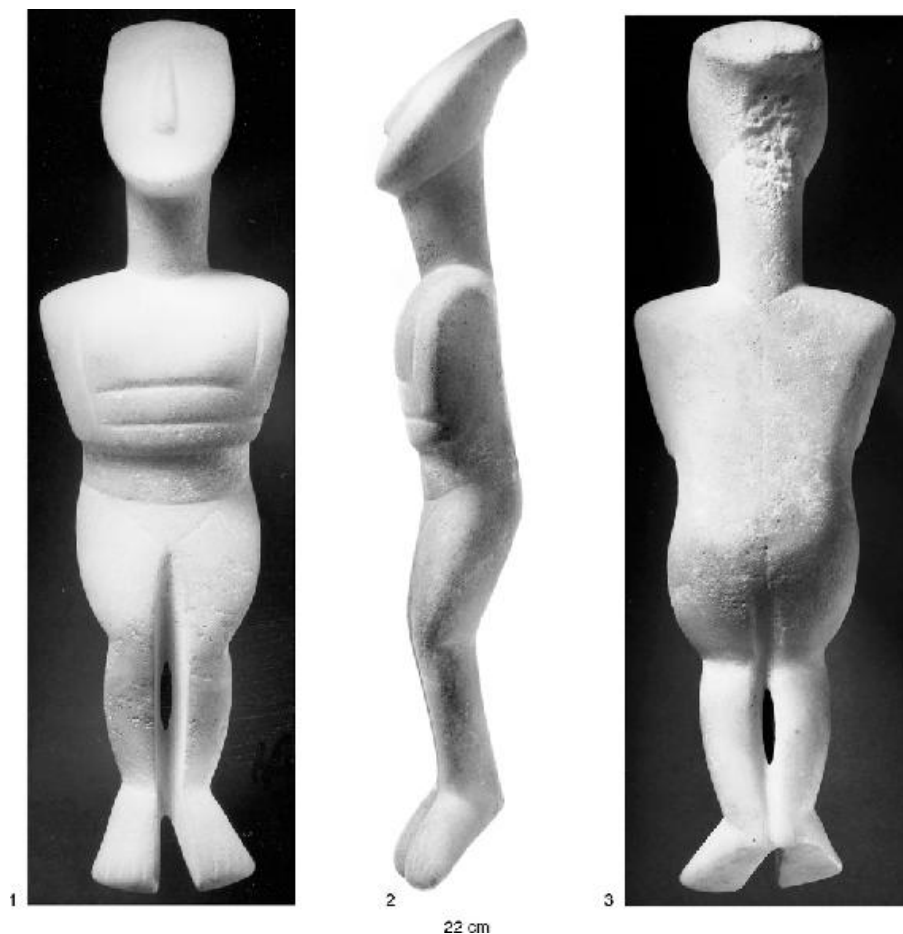


Plate 34. A figure of the Early Spedos variety

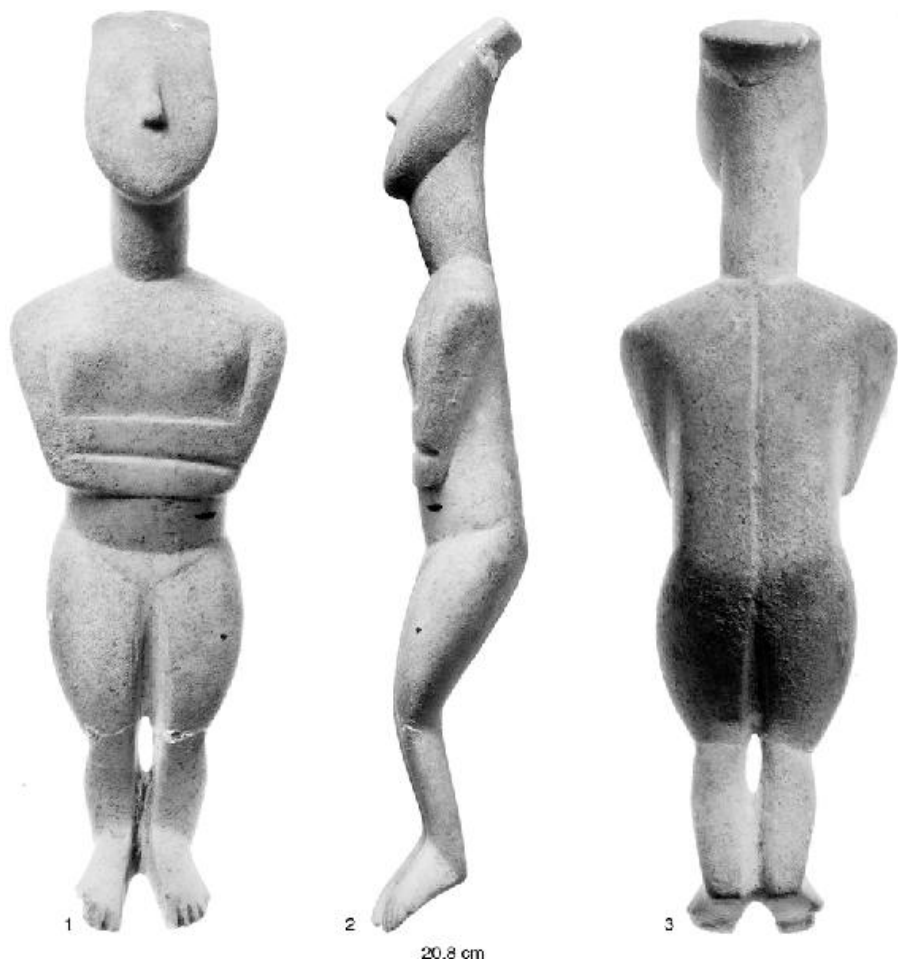
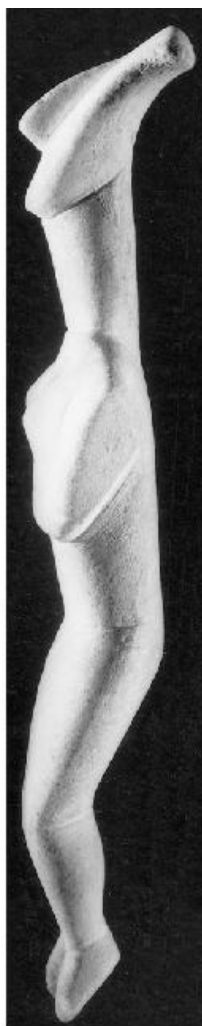


Plate 35. A figure of the Early Spedos variety



1



2

19.5 cm



3

Plate 36. A figure of the Early Spedos variety

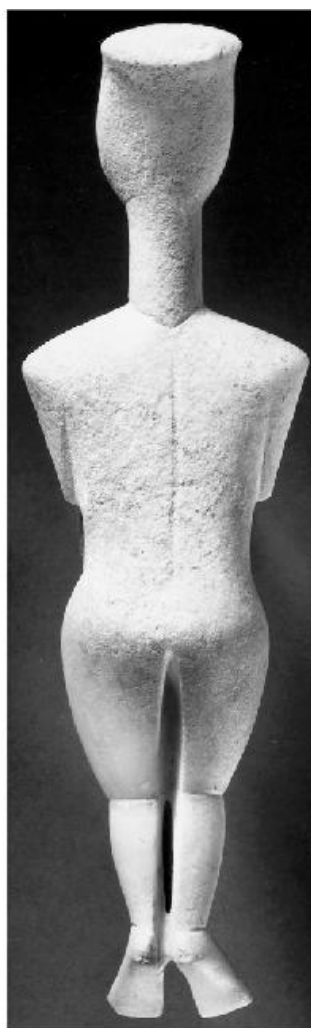


1



2

27.3 cm



3

Plate 37. A figure of the Early Spedos variety



1



2

44 3 cm



3

Plate 38. A figure of the Late Spedos variety attributable to the Strangford Sculptor

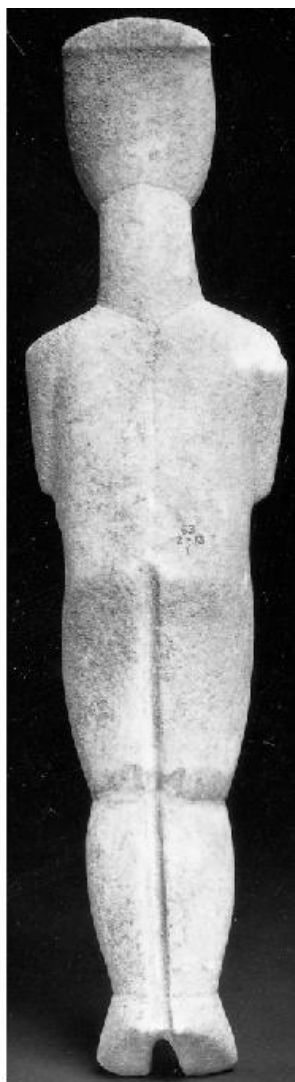


1



2

48.7 cm



3

Plate 39. A figure of the Late Spedos variety attributable to the Strangford Sculptor



a1 28.6 cm



b1 41.5 cm



c1 42 cm

Plate 40. Figures of the late Early (*a*) and Late (*b*, *c*) Spedos varieties



a2



b2



c2



a3



b3



c3

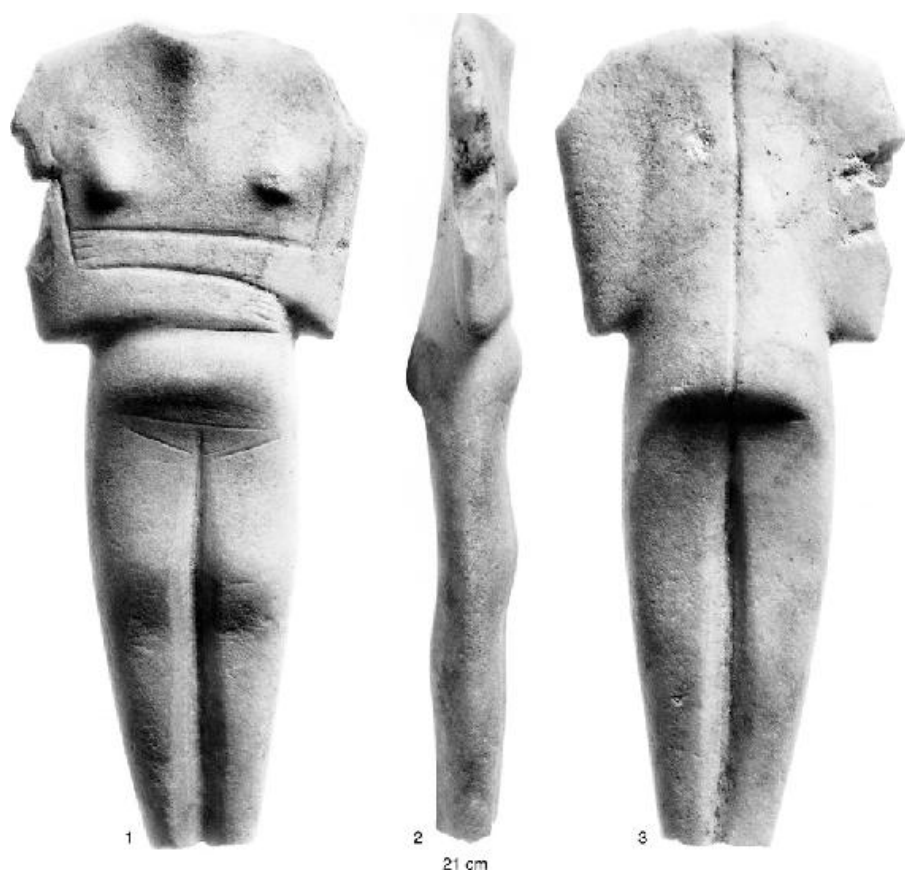


Plate 41. A fragmentary figure of the Dokathismata variety



Plate 42. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety



1



2

20.6 cm



3

Plate 43. A figure of the Dokathismata variety



1



2

29.4 cm



3

Plate 44. A figure of the Dokathismata variety



Plate 45. A figure of the Chalandriani variety

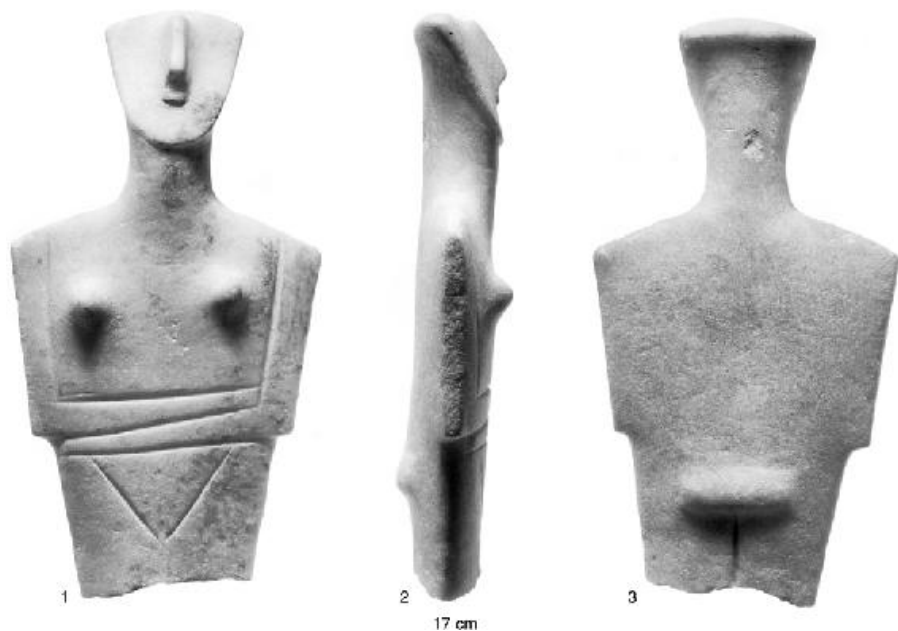


Plate 46. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety



20.2 cm



b1

20.5 cm



b2

Plate 47. Fragmentary figures of the Chalandriani (*a*) and Dokathismata (*b*) varieties, with a pattern of abdominal grooves



Plate 48. Fragmentary male figures of the Dokathismata (*a*) and Chalandriani (*b*, *c*) varieties



1

21.6 cm

Plate 49. A hunter/warrior figure of the Chalandriani variety



2



3



Plate 50. A musician(?) figure with male and female characteristics



7.5 cm

Plate 51. A fragmentary figure of the Chalandriani variety, holding a boxlike object



1



2

16 cm



3

Plate 52. A fragmentary precanonical figure

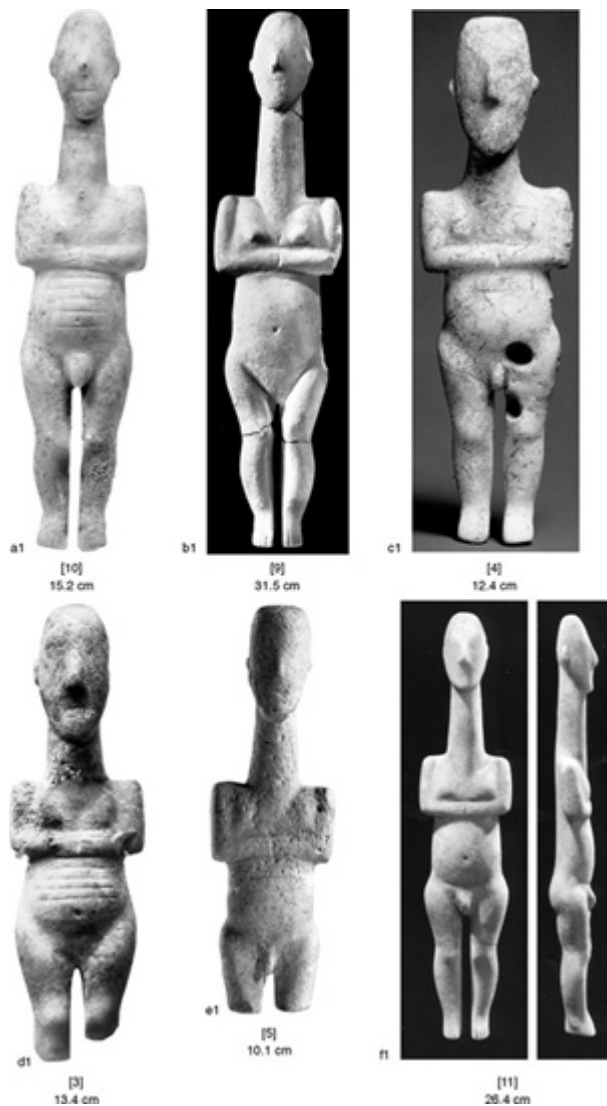


Plate 53. Male and female figures attributable to the Doumas Sculptor



a2



b2



c2



d2



e2



a3



b3



c3



e3



1



2

[11]
26.9 cm



3

Plate 54. A figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor



1



2

[6]
31 cm



3

Plate 55. A figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor



1



2

[P]
18.7 cm



3

Plate 56. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor



1



2

[10]
69.4 cm



3

Plate 57. A fragmentary figure attributable to the Kontoleon Sculptor



a

[1]
11.4 cm
(1:1)



b

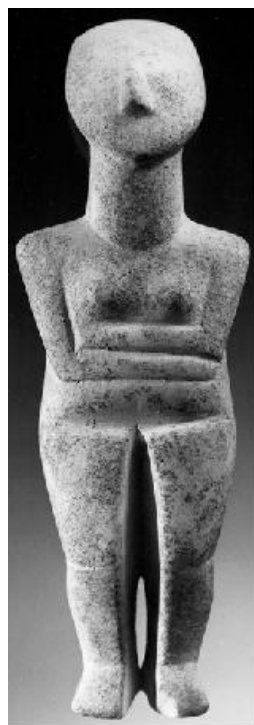
[3]
14.6 cm



c

[4]
17.1 cm

Plate 58. Figures attributable to the Bent Sculptor



[5]
17.3 cm



e [6]
18 cm



f [7]
21 cm



a1



b1



c1



d1



e1



f1

Plate 59. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 58



a2



b2



c2



e2



f2



a [1]
17 cm



b [2]
19 cm



c [3]
24.4 cm

Plate 60. Figures attributable to the Karo Sculptor



d [4]
29.4 cm



e [5]
33.5 cm



f [6]
38 cm

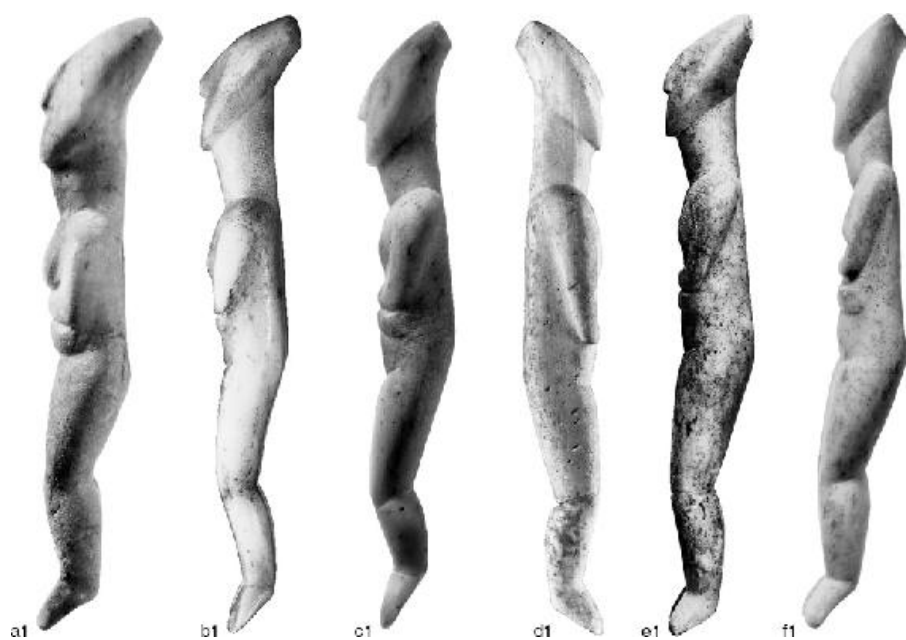


Plate 61. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 60



a2



b2



c2



d2



f2



a1

[7]

20.4 cm



a2

Plate 62. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor



b

[8]

31.2 cm



Plate 63. Figures attributable to the Copenhagen Sculptor



a2



a3



b2



b3



c2



d2



d3



a1 [1]
96.8 cm



b1 [2]
89 cm



c1 [8]
140 cm

Plate 64. Figures attributabl/e to the Karlsruhe/Woodner Sculptor

CH



CH

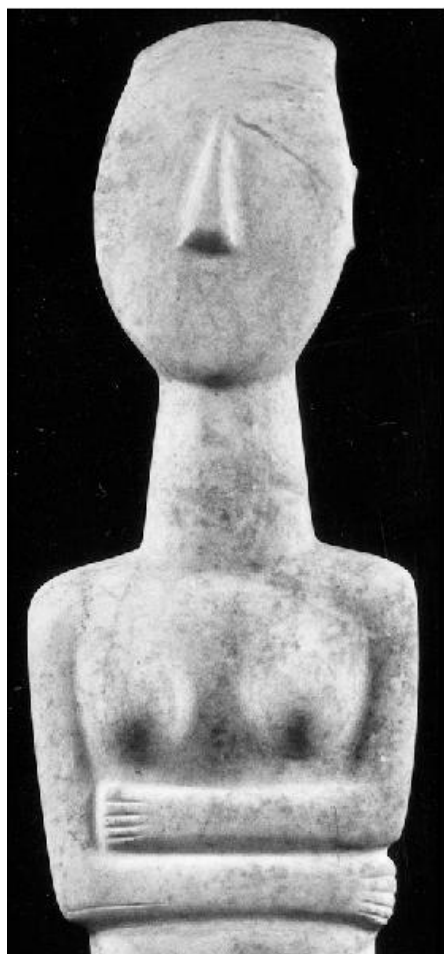


CH





Plate 65. Detailed views of the figures in plates 64 (*a-c*) and Plate 57 (*d*)



d





Plate 66. Rear views of the works in Plate 64



a2



b2



c2



a1 [8]
21.3 cm



b1 [4]
48 cm



c1 [6]
59.9 cm

Plate 67. Figures attributable to the Steiner Sculptor



a2



b2



c2



a3



b3



c3



a1 [1]
41.6 cm



b1 [2]
53.7 cm



c1 [3]
74 cm

Plate 68. Figures attributable to the Rodgers Sculptor

a2



b2



c2



a3

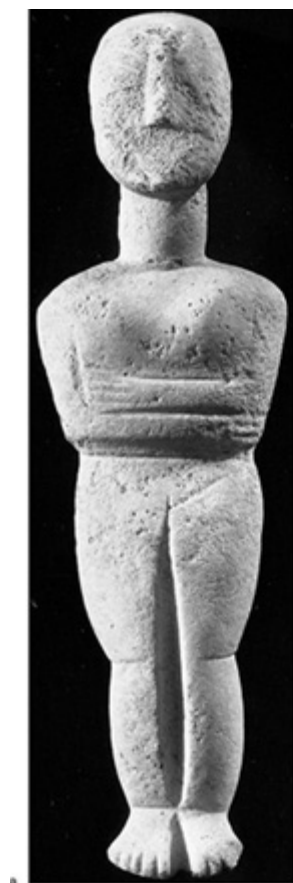


b3



c3





[2]
19.7 cm
[1:1]



[16]
20 cm

Plate 69. Figures attributable to the Naxos Museum Sculptor



c

[6]
39.5 cm



d

[12]
25 cm

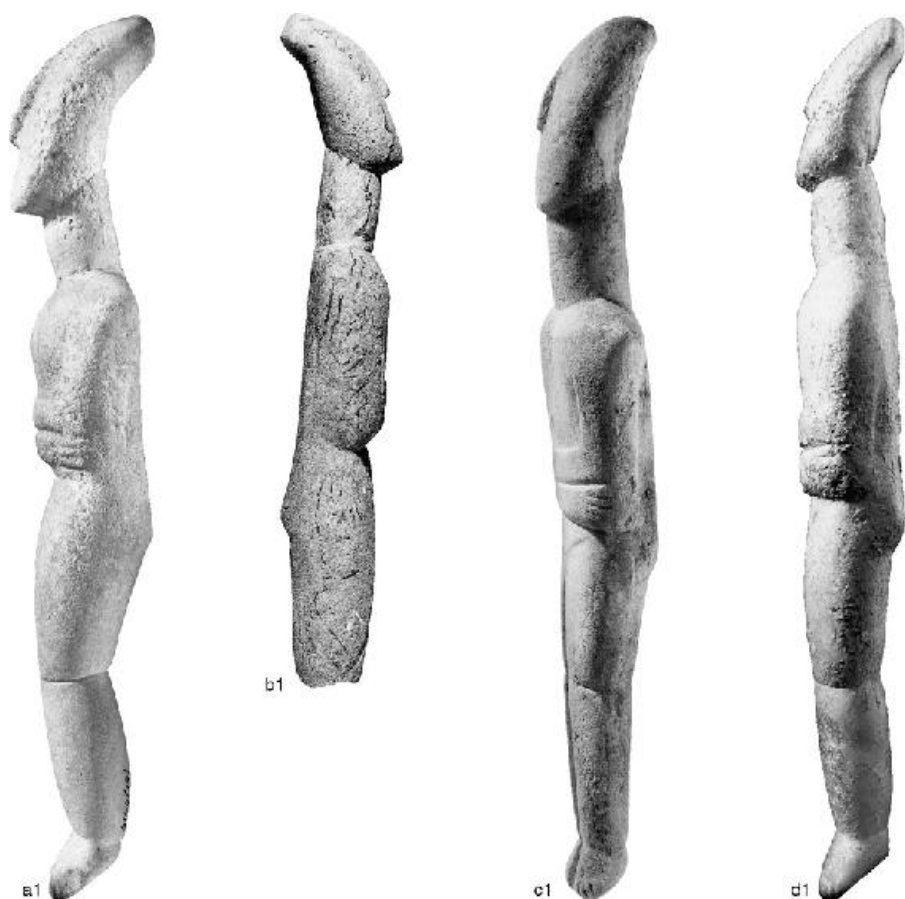


Plate 70. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 69



a2



b2



c2



d2



[47]
9.9 cm



[49]
13.8 cm



[30]
11.2 cm



[46]
(pl. 75b)

Plate 71. Heads of figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



a1

[67]

11.9 cm



a2



b1

[2]

32.7 cm



b2



c1

[66]

30.7 cm



c2



d

[68]

20 cm

Plate 72. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



a1

[42]
15 cm



b1

[63]
17.3 cm



c1

[64]
17.3 cm



d1

[24]
22.2 cm

Plate 73. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



a2



b2



c2



d2

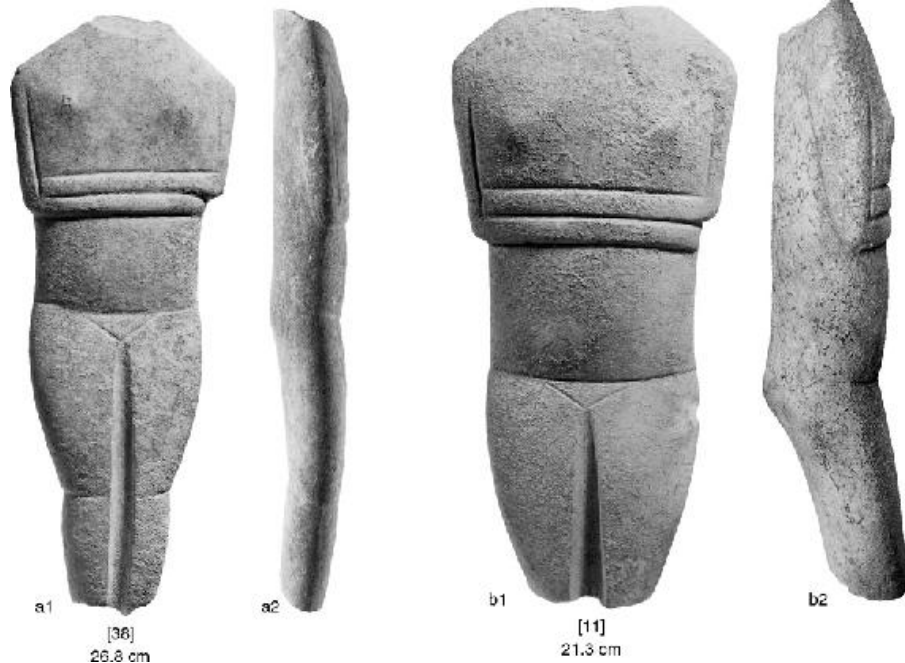


Plate 74. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



a1

[9]
22.3 cm



a2



d1

[28]
33.9 cm



d2



a1

[27]
63.3 cm



b1

[46]
52.5 cm

Plate 75. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



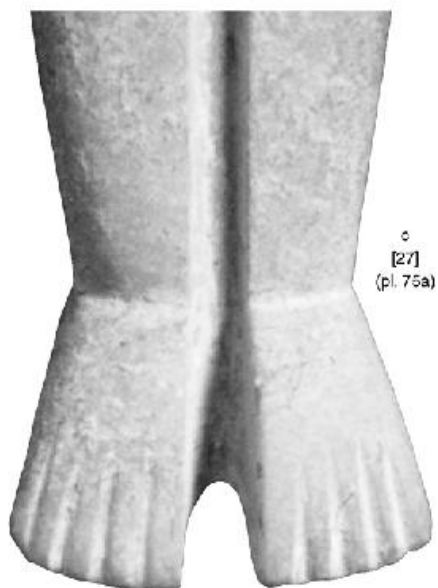
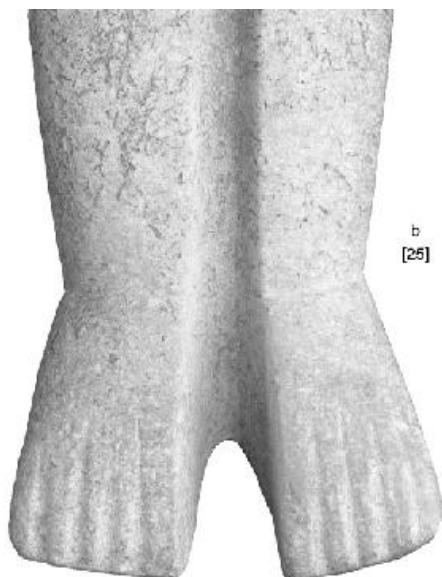
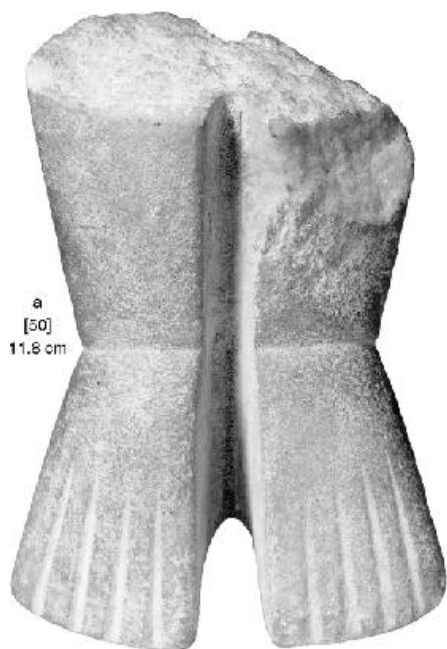


Plate 76. The lower legs and feet of figures attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor



a1

[7]
28 cm



b1

[3]
41.8 cm



c1

[4]
63.4 cm

Plate 77. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Bastis Sculptor

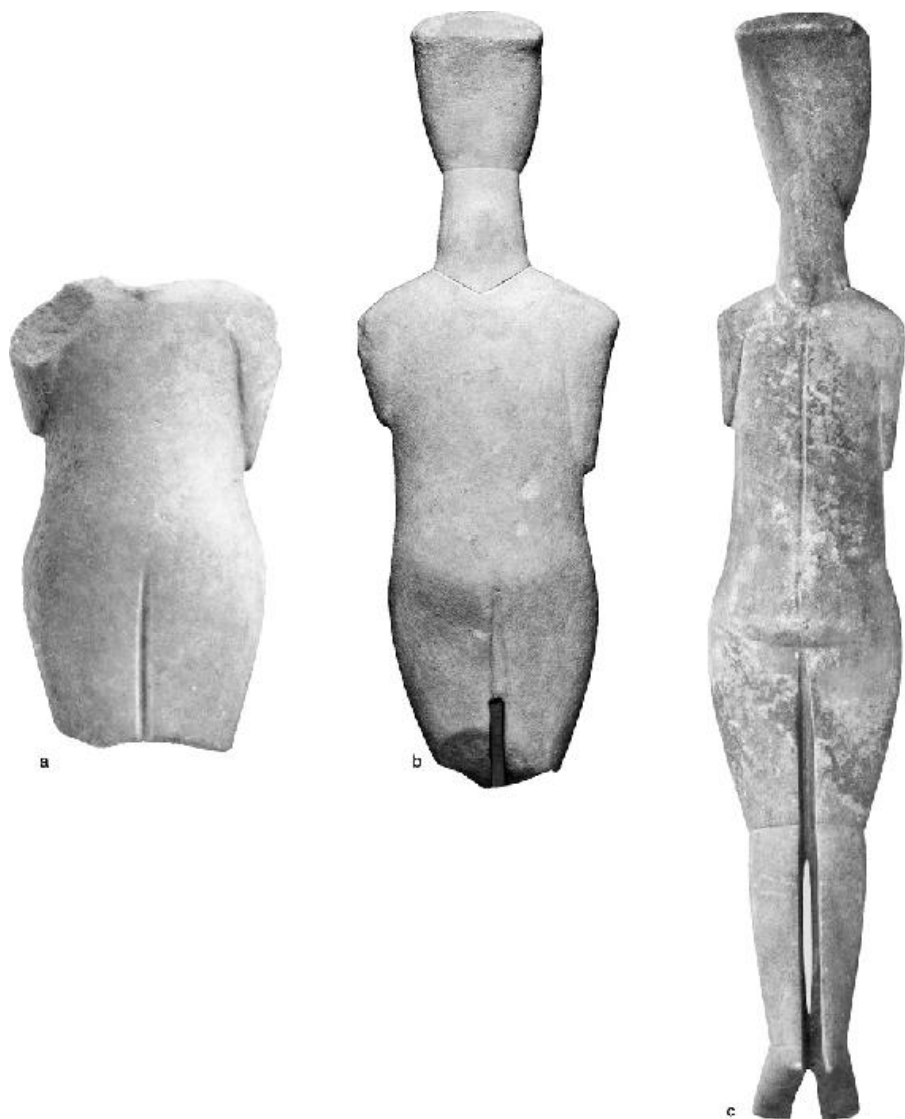


Plate 78. Rear views of the works in Plate 77



a1

[13]
12.8 cm



a2



b1

[3]
13.9 cm



b2

Plate 79. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor



a

[1]
19.2 cm



b

[14]
24.8 cm

Plate 80. Fragmentary figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor



c

[7]
33 cm



Plate 81. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 80



b2



c



a

[4]

28.5 cm



b

[2]

29.2 cm

Plate 82. Figures attributable to the Schuster Sculptor



c

[15]
40.6 cm

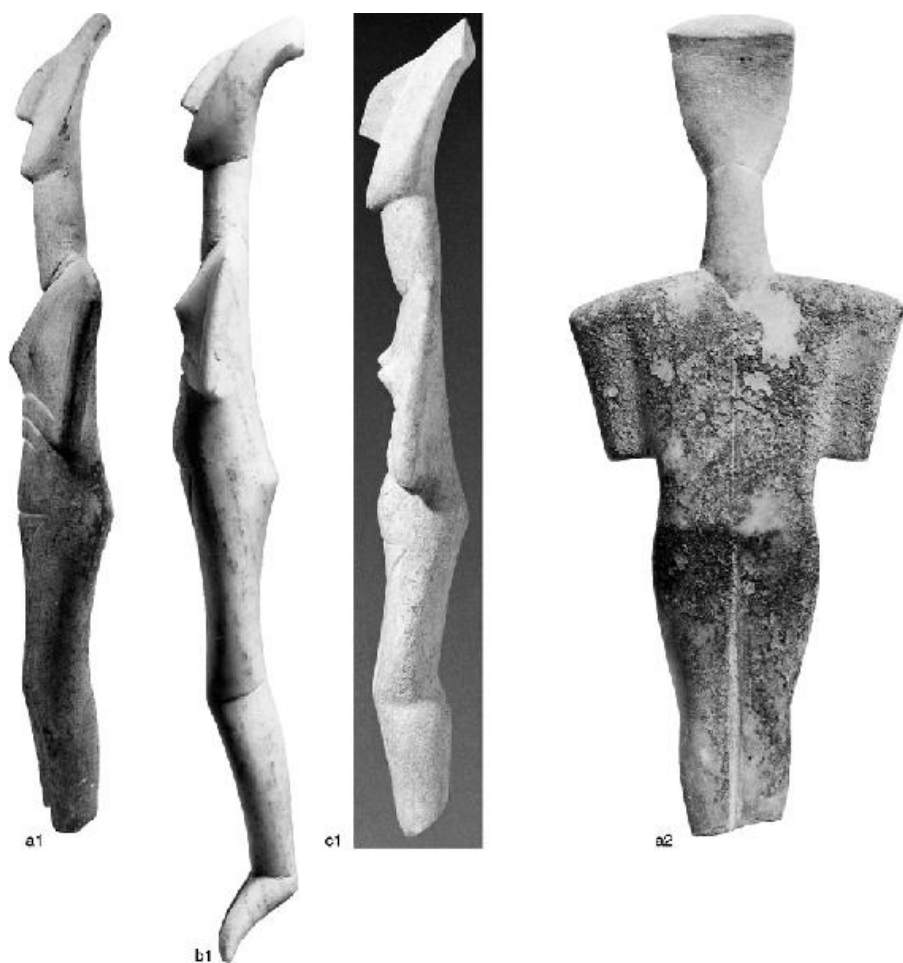


Plate 83. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 82



c2

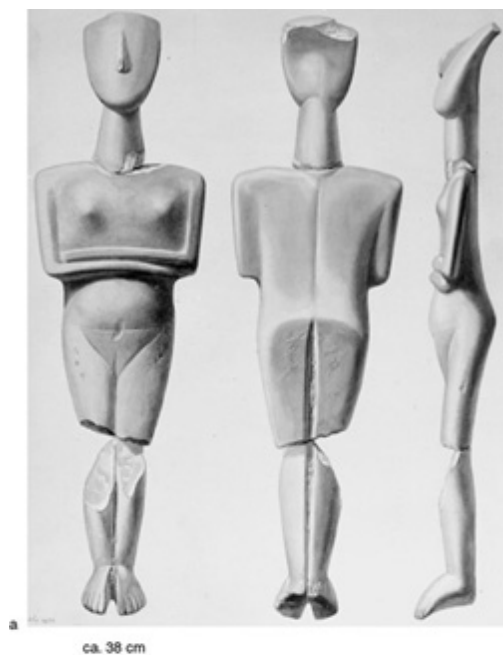


Plate 84. A figure attributable to the Schuster Sculptor, as preserved in 1850 (*a*) and as currently preserved (*b*)



a1

[4]



b1

[2]



c1

[15]



a2



b2



c2



d

[1]



a1

[2]



a2



f

[14]

Plate 85. Details of works in plates 80–81 and 82–83



a

[4]
75.9 cm



b

[7]
43.2 cm

Plate 86. Figures attributable to the Ashmolean Sculptor



c

[3]
39.1 cm



d

[2]
36.7 cm

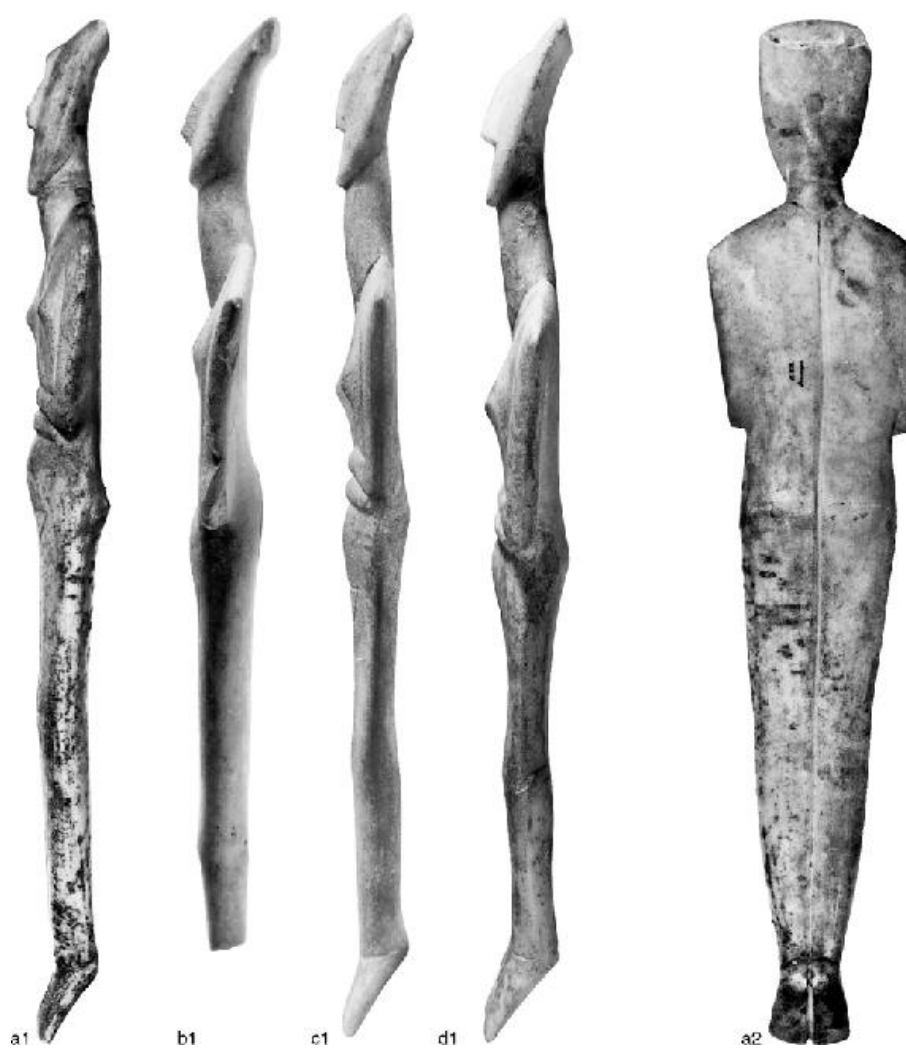


Plate 87. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 86



b2



c2



d2



a

[5]

22.7 cm



b

[4]

41.7 cm

Plate 88. Figures attributable to the Berlin Sculptor



c

[1]
43 cm



d

[2]
68.5 cm



Plate 89. Profile and rear views of the works in Plate 88



a2



b3



c2



d2



31

[4]

Plate 90. Details of works in Plate 88



[1]



[2]



a [5]
26.1 cm



b NEW [1]
19.8 cm
(1:1)

Plate 91. Complete and fragmentary figures attributable to the Louvre Sculptor



c

[3]
27 cm



d

[6]
10.3



e

NEW [2]
10 cm



a

NEW [1]



b

[3]

Plate 92. Details of works in Plate 91

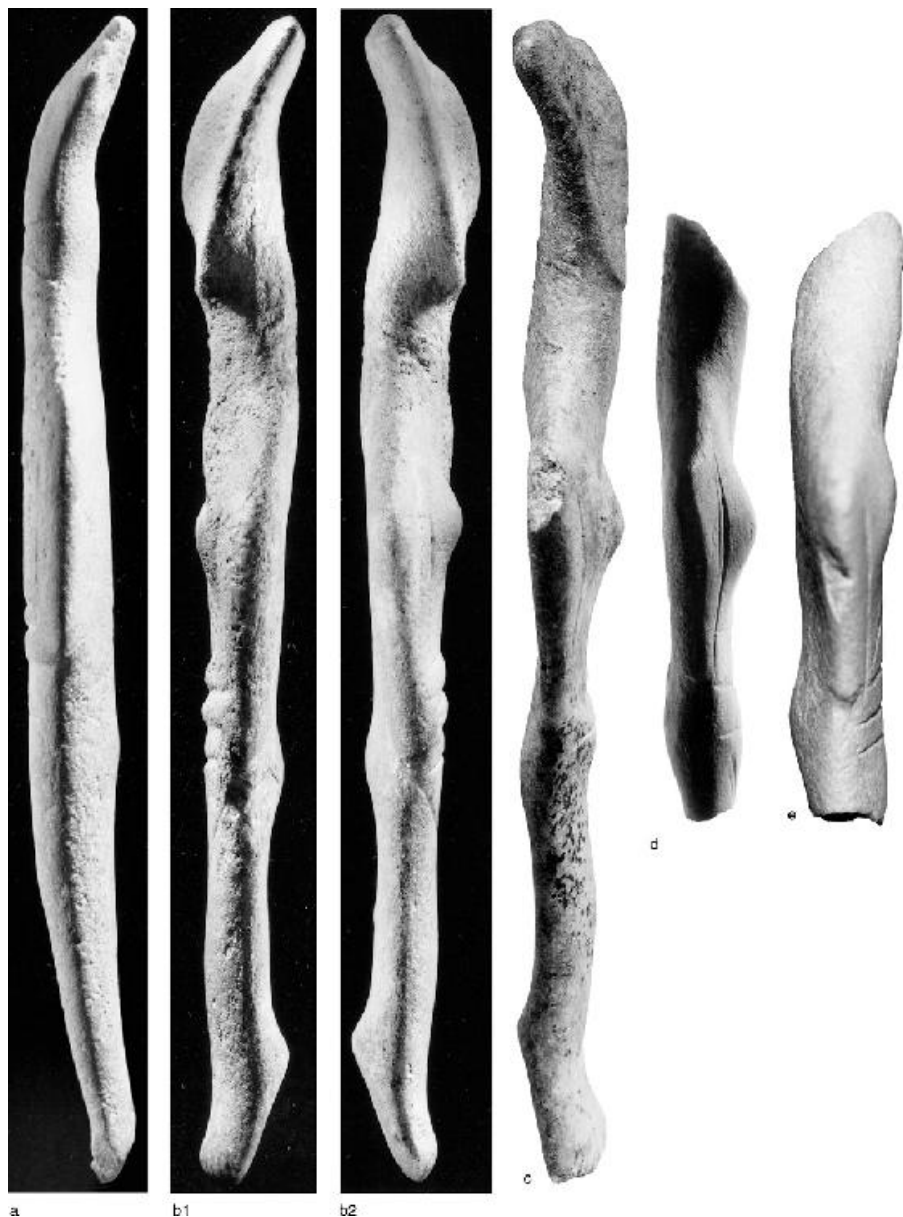


Plate 93. Profile views of the works in Plate 91

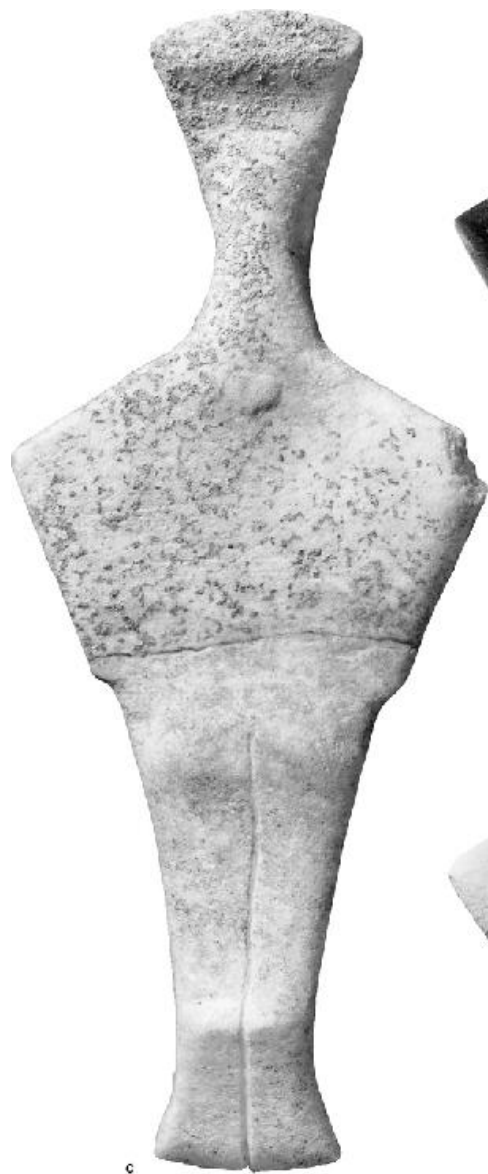


a



b

Plate 94. Rear views of the works in Plate 91





1

27 cm

2

Plate 95. A suspect work: the name-piece of the erstwhile Stafford Master, renamed the Louvre Sculptor after the figure in plates 91c and 96a

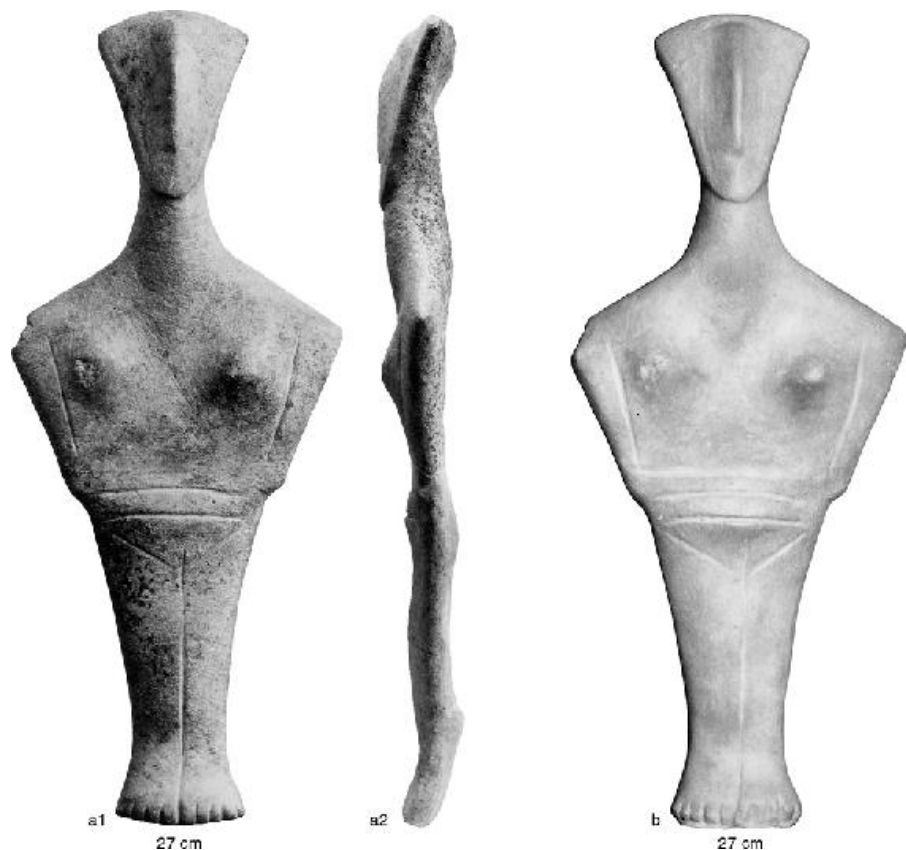


Plate 96. The name-piece of the Louvre Sculptor, with old restoration (a) and in a reproduction (b)



a1



a2

22.6 cm



a3

Plate 97. Two heads of colossal Early Spedos variety figures



b1



b2

18.5 cm



b3



1



2

27 cm



3

Plate 98. The head of a colossal Early Spedos variety figure

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